1: Underhill
●796

NU28 Papago NU28

[For organized ceremonial, see the following pages in category 116: 8, 17-20, 32-34, 41, 43-47, 49-67, 69-80, 83, 97-115, 135-161, 166, 305-310, 318-323, 327-336. --Analyst]

drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be 293
a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbe- 539x
have when they drink.(1) 773

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer vil- 221
lages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had 796
"pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold [184]
theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each vil- 796x
lage. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At [202]
Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup. [539]x
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(3)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related vil- [202]
lages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when [431]
brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so [195]
different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all 796x
the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must 539x
go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

But, on great ceremonial

361 occasions, all daughter villages returned in a body to the parent
621 village. If intervillage games were held, it was understood that all
● [796] played and bet on the same side. If one went on the warpath, the
[721] others were notified and asked to join. Modern interpreters speak of these related villages as "partners". We shall refer to the whole group of mother village, daughter villages and Wells, as a village unit.

The three reservations number eleven such village units whose location has changed very little in the two hundred and more years since Kino visited most of them. The reason is obvious. They were placed in spots which were, then as now, the best for cultivation. Usually, the main villages are found in the middle of the north-to-south valleys, with their daughter villages stretching along the valley in both directions and their Wells perched in the mountain-walls at either side. Sometimes a village has made two or three short moves to get better water and it may have carried its old name with it to each location, but all the sites are easily identified and generally the history of the moves is preserved in tradition.

Our knowledge of the daughter villages dates only from 1860[1] and it is possible that their settlement is recent and due to the cessation of Apache raids. Kino, who visited several of the mother villages, says nothing about the daughters and we do not know whether the three hundred and seven hundred people who greeted him[2] lived in town or in the environs. But we know that, during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century there could be no daughter villages. That was the time of the Apache attacks, when the people were obliged to concentrate and, no matter how far away their fields were: "They could not live far apart. They were afraid." (26)

361 But when the Apache ceased to trouble, toward the end of the
621 nineteenth century, the large villages began to break up and groups moved out, either to the fields they had been cultivating, or
178 to new ones. Several villages recorded in the appendix were founded in the last two or three generations and the movement is still going on. In the last few years there has appeared a factor which will influence residence even more than freedom from attack. This is the digging of government wells. Already these have given some of the large Field villages a permanent water supply so that movement in the dry season is unnecessary. As more of the Fields are supplied, we may expect some of the Wells to be abandoned while others, if conveniently located for cattle raising, may grow into

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[1] Hoover, 1395, p. 259.

[2] Bolton, 1936, pp. 397, 398.

778 carried under escort to a special shelter and there guarded for twenty-four hours. It is opened only in the Big House by the older men, who clean it and renew the eagle feathers. If, while it is in the mountains, any disaster overtakes the village, they consider that the basket has been disturbed and hasten to visit it.

Arcana of the other villages are of the same general sort. Reports mention:

> a bag of deerskin, containing carved stone turtle (Hohokam relic ?) wrapped in hand woven cotton cloth. a stick two feet long carved and painted with representations of melons, squash, corn and clouds. Four sticks ten inches long, painted blue with white spots and with a tuft of beargrass at the tip to represent corn leaves. Turkey feather prayer sticks. Various other objects such as arrow heads, curiously shaped stones, eagle tail feathers.

Even the daughter villages often acquired a fetish, in time, if they found a relic of the Ancient People under propitious circumstances or "saw a stone which some shaman thought would bring rain." The fetish must then be enclosed in a plaited basket of the proper ceremonial sort and placed in charge of a man who knew the hampatak, or Wise Speeches.

CEREMONIAL ORATIONS

● 796 778 537 The Wise Speeches, treated at length under the subject of ceremonies, were ancient rituals describing interviews with the rain god and the subsequent blessing of rain. The speeches were handed down from one generation to another in the loosely hereditary manner already described, that is, taught to the son or other relative who seemed most promising. They were the safeguard for handling sacred objects and no fetish could be unwrapped or moved without their recitation. A man who knew the speeches told the writer how he visited another village and was interested to see their fetish. He was told that the basket could not be opened without the speech; so he began to recite the one he knew. He was shown the fetish and, in four hours, there was a heavy rain.

CEREMONIAL LEADER

793 The man who knew Wise Speeches was the village ceremonial leader. He was called by a number of names: the Wise Speaker, the One Above, the One Ahead, the One Made Big, the Fire Maker, the Keeper of the Plaited Basket, the Keeper of the Smoke or of the Meeting. The last term will be used here as suggesting more of his official functions. As to the origin of his office, informants say:

"The Keeper and the Sacred House go together. They were decreed 793
in the beginning by Elder Brother" (2). Some thought that in very
ancient times this Keeper was the only official. "He went to Elder
Brother and got his directions. Then he came back and showed the
people what to do" (20). "He went before them like a light. He was
their teacher and their father" (40). "He got the Wise Speeches
from Elder Brother himself" (4). He was, in fact, a priestly ruler,
much like the cacique in the Rio Grande pueblos.

His principal duty was the handling of the fetish which gave [789]
the village rain and therefore life. This meant the care of the sacred
house where the fetish was lodged on important occasions and, 358
finally, the presiding over all meetings held there. In the earliest 793
times, he lived in the ceremonial house and received the men there
for meetings while his family slept. At present, he lives beside it
and his wife keeps it clean.

The house was used for meetings both ceremonial and secular and, on such occasions, it was the Keeper's duty to make the fire (hence one of his titles) and then mount to the roof of his shade and summon the men. Sometimes he had younger men to perform both of these functions for him. He called meetings to decide on the dates of ceremonies and whenever the other officials, the war, hunt and game leaders, had communications to make. When the men assembled, he sat at the west of the house, facing the door and opened the meeting with a moral talk bidding them pay attention to what was to be said and use their best judgment.

He acted as priest in all the important local ceremonies held for 793
rain, for growth and for cleansing of crops and must know the
appropriate Wise Speeches for each occasion. One informant gave 796
him perquisites which remind one most strongly of the Pueblo
cacique. "He must not be bothered with quarrelling. The people
used to till his land for him because he worked so hard in the
ceremonies." Certainly his land is not tilled for him now, and I have
known an old Keeper in actual want because even his young relatives
neglected him.

Beside his priestly functions, the Keeper acted as a patriarchal 793
advisor to the village. The importance we give to this duty must
depend on whether we consider the secular governor a modern 622
official or an old one. Certainly the reliance on some aged leader 624
as a patriarch and almost a dictator to the village is a pronounced
Papago custom. At present that leader is often the secular governor
and we need to consider whether he has always had such functions
or has taken them over from the priestly leader. In view of the
frequent statements that the Keeper was once the only village head,

464 contacts of the southern villages made for more flexibility and disorganization than there was in the north.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS

431 The Papago had one ceremony which involved large payments 796 between villages. Ostensibly they were for ceremonial services which brought blessing and rain but they performed, as well, two very practical functions. One was that the village making the payments could invest its harvest on a much wider scale than that permitted by family gifts and the other, that gift relationships were cemented with what might be called foreigners: the members of another village and even of another dialect group. The ceremony was the dance of greeting and blessing which preceded intervillage games.

431 Games were played between two village units or groups of units, 526 the same opponents challenging each other alternately, year after year. The time chosen was autumn, when the crops were in and 796 when there was not only leisure but goods for gifts and gambling. [533 535] The challenging village always "sang for" its opponent, either a rudimentary operetta, in which costumed dancers performed to singing, or a series of songs which glorified the important residents [777] of the host village. Songs of both kinds brought good luck which, according to Papago ideas of reciprocity, should be paid for.

431 When a village had been challenged and had paid it was etiquette for it to issue the challenge next year and be paid in turn. After that, 796 either village was at liberty to pick out a new opponent but, as a rule, they continued together over a long period and established definite gift relationships. But occasionally, a village which had had a poor harvest would strike out in a new direction and sing for somebody "rich". Russell[1] mentions the Papago (probably the northern villages) singing regularly for the Pima, and some Papagos from Somerton (Sand Papagos?) came yearly in regalia, marched and danced with rattles for the Yuma.[2] But the wealthy agriculturists were too busy with their own affairs to need this form of exchange and the visits were seldom returned.

The visiting party arrived a day early, camped outside the host village and sent in a costumed messenger with a formal challenge to games. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a household head in the visiting party, who would expect a gift. If the household head could not come, some younger male represented him, but gifts were made only to households, not individuals.

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[1] Russell p. 171.

[2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

The sticks were given to the Keeper of the Meeting who then called a council in which each of his households volunteered to take one of the sticks — two if necessary — and provide gifts for "the name". Everyone had been saving for this purpose since to give now meant not only blessing for his village but honor and good luck for himself, and return gifts next year. 796 431

In this way, there were gradually formed what might be called gift partnerships. A householder, having once selected a "name' as the recipient of his gifts, continued to take the same one, year after year. He called this vantage point among the strangers *nyi owih* (my opposite) and "felt toward him like a relative". It was an excellent device for securing friendly relationships in foreign territory.

The relation of opposities might continue for generations and very often led to marriage alliances. But it was more flexible than a kin tie and could be broken off if either party failed in his obligations. "If they didn't give much one year, we knew they had a poor harvest and we gave even more when it was our turn. But if they kept on that way, we knew they were stingy and we asked in meeting for another name" (26). But there was a good deal of latitude in choosing the names for new ones were always appearing and old ones dropping out. A householder might try some new name in addition to his regular gift partner, just to see how it worked out and often people threw out small gifts in various directions, as an overture to new relationships.

The visitors had a few payments to make on their side. As they [387] danced, it was the polite thing for members of the host village, generally old women who were beyond shyness, to skip beside some chosen dancer. Then his parents would run out with a basket or ornament taken from the goods they expected to gamble next day. When the dance was over, all the women of the host village joined in serving cooked food to the guests. Then the householders made piles of their donations and each called out to his gift partner: "Come and get your pay over here." Some of the gifts remembered were:

Santa Rosa to Kuitatk (43)

Gift: One large winnowing basket each of cooked squash, cooked beans and ash bread.

Return: One winnowing basket each of dried beans and dried corn and six fresh pumpkins.

On the last occasion an entire stranger made overtures to the family with a sack of roasted corn and another with a jar of cactus

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syrup. These were reciprocated within the month with a sack of beans and a sack of wheat but later the same strangers gave presents again and a regular partnership was established.

Kuitatk to San Xavier (26)

Gift: A saddle (made of a straw-stuffed bag in the Papago manner) with two saddle bags, one filled with beans and one with corn. A coiled basket filled with seeds of the giant cactus (used to make flour).

Return: A horse with a leather Mexican saddle, a serape, a willow basket of chick peas and another of cooked tortillas.

Pima to Kuitatk (26)

Gift: A cotton sheet full of threshed wheat, a gray woolen blanket, a willow basket bowl filled with cooked squash.

Return: A two year colt, two plaited sleeping mats, a decorated clay pot containing about three gallons of cooked beans, a plaited tray bowl about a foot square filled with tortillas.

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The etiquette of distribution was for the giver's wife to hand the goods to the wife of the recipient who would carry them home on her back. But the giver's wife often playfully chased her "opponent", pelting her with tortillas and syrup; a symbol, perhaps, of the enmity between the two villages which was now a joke. The giver placed the stick representing the name of his "opposite," in his corn bin, where it brought increase.

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The use of a village name, in auspicious ceremonial circumstances, was always a service to be paid for by village residents. The special songs for rain were sung at the drinking ceremony, given at each main village for its whole unit but all visitors were invited to attend and share the blessing. If such a visitor heard the name of his own locality mentioned in the descriptions of the coming of rain clouds, he must provide a gift, for the mere singing of the name in such a connection would bring rain. Visitors used to come prepared with gifts but a recent one had nothing to hand over but his cowboy hat. The same principle holds in the curing songs, which describe the habits of the animal guardians. Any locality mentioned in the description will have blessing and its residents must show they are not stingy.

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The second important occasion for ceremonial payments, was the purification of an Enemy Slayer. This man, during the sixteen days of his retirement, had a ceremonial godfather who called him by the same term used by a senior paternal uncle and who was, afterward,

x 159 755 others blew and cleaned me, too. Then Squirrel Ear sang four songs and then they brushed again. I went to sleep. But they sang and cleansed me all night and my father smoked and sang with them, because he was an Enemy Slayer. Women must not sing those songs, so my mother sat and listened, and at midnight she brought them beans and succotash. They sang the last song at dawn and then they went away.

I began to feel better as soon as they started singing. I had not slept for two days, but I slept that night. In two days I was well.

x 159 787 But I used to dream after that. Sometimes I would think I saw the little men, the Prisoners, climbing down the house posts out of their basket and looking at me. They would point to their mouths and ask for food because, perhaps, my father had not fed them enough. Sometimes, when I was in the desert digging roots, I would see the centipedes and the little red spiders talking together, planning how to make rain. Just after daybreak I would see a coyote darting past the house and I would know he had come to see me.

x 159 538 I knew all about Coyote and the things he can do, because my father told us the stories about how the world began and how Coyote helped our Creator, Elder Brother, to set things in order. Only some men know these stories, but my father was one of them. On winter nights, when we had finished our gruel or rabbit stew and lay back on our mats, my brothers would say to him: "My father, tell us something."

My father would lie quietly upon his mat with my mother beside him and the baby between them. At last he would start slowly to tell us about how the world began. This is a story that can be told only in winter when [825 there are no snakes about, for if the snakes heard they would crawl in and bite you. But in winter when snakes are asleep, we tell these things. Our story about the world is full of songs, and when the neighbors heard my father singing they would open our door and step in over the high threshold. Family by family they came, and we made a big fire and kept the door shut against the cold night. When my father finished a sentence we would all say the last word after him. If anyone went to sleep he would stop. He would not speak any more. But we did not go to sleep.

x 159 796 My father's story told us all about why we hold our big feasts, because Elder Brother showed us how in the beginning of the world. My father went to those feasts and he took us, too, because my father was a song maker and he had visions even if he was not a medicine man. He always made a song for the big harvest festival, the one that keeps the world going right and that only comes every four years.

We all went then, from all over our country to the Place of the Burnt Seeds. We camped together, many, many families together, and we made

images of the beautiful things that make life good for the Desert People, 159x
like clouds and corn and squash and deer. The men sang about those things 796
and my father made songs. When I was about eight years old, my father once made an image of a mountain out of cactus ribs covered with white cloth. He had dreamed about that mountain and this is the song he made: [533]

There is a white shell mountain in the ocean
Rising half out of the water.
Green scum floats on the water
And the mountain turns around.

The song is very short because we understand so much. We can understand how tall and white the mountain was, and that white shell is something precious, such as the handsome men of old used to have for their necklaces, and it would shine all across the earth as they walked. We understand that as that mountain turns, it draws the clouds and the birds until they all float around it. All those things my father told me when he used to sing that song in our house. I did not understand, though, when I was a little girl and went to the harvest festival. I was afraid of the singers with their masks. [293] There were clowns with masks, too, white masks with little holes for eyes. The clowns bless people, and one put his hand out to bless me, but I ducked under it and ran.

Only afterward I used to dream of the white clown. Perhaps it was because some day I was going to marry one. It may be, for I have magic [787] dreams. I am one who understands things.

When we came home that year there was sickness at Mesquite Root. 159x
It was a bad sickness that came to everybody in the whole village, sent 755
by an evil medicine man. We all had it: my father, my mother, all my brothers and sisters. The singers gathered in the big house and sang. You understand now that our way to cure everything and to take care of everything, is to sing.

Then the medicine men took branches of a kind of cholla cactus. Oh, very thorny that cactus is, covered with white thorns, and people say they jump out at you and catch you, so hard they stick. Everything in the world sticks to that cactus, so we say the sickness will stick to it, too. The medicine men went with their branches into every house, gathering up the sickness on those thorns. I remember, because I was not so sick as the others, how little boys came after them, making fun of them and waving greasewood branches. [855] But we do not mind those things. We know the children do not understand. They took the sickness away and buried it at the north of the village.

My little brother sang a great deal in the house after those things hap- 159x
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He put his marriage to me on it. When you see the stick, you will find it there. 159x 173

This husband was one of the clowns who makes the people laugh at our great harvest ceremony. 159x 796 The clowns wear masks, you know, great white bags of deerskin, pulled down over their faces with tiny eyes painted on them and just little holes to see through. They talk in a squeaky voice because we think the clown is a magic person who comes from far in the north and talks a language we do not know. So when we went to the harvest festival and I saw the clown, I never knew it was my own husband.

He and I always went to the harvest festivals. He was good to me; he took me everywhere. I have been lucky in my husbands; I never had to stay home.

The festival was always at the Narrow Place where Elder Brother told us to have it in the beginning. We all went there with our teams, starting ten days early. We took with us corn meal and grinding stones and plenty [574] of dried food, so we could entertain all our relatives when they came to our camp. There we cut branches and put up little shelters for ourselves, but we did not need much for it was in the month of Pleasant Cold.

All day long our men went away to practise in the big shelter where the singing was to be. We heard their songs floating over to us, we women, and we were glad. Of course, we did not go near the shelter. Those songs are for men, they are very sacred things. You cannot ask any Indian woman about the harvest festival. That is a thing from which we keep far away.

But we were happy. We cooked all day long, on the little fires outside our shelters. Always some relative was coming to stand there and smile at us: "My elder sister!" "My younger sister!" "My father's younger sister!" "My mother's older sister!"

When one came who had had some one die since we saw her last, we all [765] stood there and cried in the sunshine, to show her how we all felt together.

In the evening, when we were getting supper ready, the clowns would come running to all the camps squeaking in their sacred voices and holding a basket out for food, to feed the men in the Big House. Then we all gave them food, and we were afraid of them, too, because clowns have much power. Once I put tamales in the clown's basket, and there, under the white blanket that was tied around him, I saw a piece of my husband's trousers. "I'm not going to give you anything more," I said. "I know you now." The other women said I must not speak like that. They were afraid. So I kept on giving him food.

At the festival, my husband cured the sick people. Everybody who feels badly sits in a row at that feast and they call to the clown: 159x 796 755 x/159 "Cleanse me!" So he comes and blows over them and then they are well.

796 People used to come to my husband even when we were home again 755 at Standing Rock. Any one who had done wrong at the harvest feast would come to him; those who had danced or sung wrong or, maybe, fallen down when they were carrying some sacred thing. That can make you very sick, perhaps, so that you cannot walk any more.

My husband would put on his white mask, with the big bunch of turkey [998] feathers on top. He kept that mask in a jar, far out in the hills behind our house. You must not keep such things near you. They are too strong. Perhaps you would die from their power. But he would go out all alone and get it, and come back from the north, wearing it. Then he would blow on the people. If they were very sick indeed, he had to have singers to sing the harvest songs and make the harvest feast again for that sick man. That is the way to get well.

x/159 When my oldest boy was twelve years old, my brother died, back at 756 Mesquite Root. That was the brother who was a medicine man. He had been well known for a long time. He used to give the white clay to drink to maidens and to babies. Often I have seen him mix it up with owl feathers though no one is supposed to know that is how he does. But there are many medicine men in my family. I know.

My brother had two children and a wife, but all of them died. He could not stop it; I think it was the power of some evil medicine man. Then he himself got sick. A medicine man tried to suck out the sickness but it was too late; he was already spoiled inside. There was no one at Mesquite Root to take care of him now; my mother was very old. So I went back to stay. He lived two months and he taught me many cures. "Now you must stand in my place," he said. And he told all the people: "I am going to die but she will take care of you."

He told me how to cure sick people by rubbing up and down their legs. I can feel if there is a lump inside them and I work it out smooth. Sometimes I give them castor oil. Do you think I did not learn that from my brother? I do not know. I am old and have had many visions. He told me how to put a feather in my mouth, and after that, to spit blood. I can do that, but when I have the blood, I do not throw it away; I swallow it. This is a very mysterious thing. I tell few people that I have such power.

x/159 I got the feather in a magic way. I was sitting in the evening in our 756 doorway, waiting for my son to come home from tending the horses. A 787 little bird came and sat above the door and began calling. I did not understand. But at night, when I was asleep, the bird came again, and then, in my dreams, I could understand. He said: "You think I am only a little

795 With the absence of priests and the passage of time, much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptized by godparents, and the people bury their own dead.

In these little churches today the Papago sing and pray in Spanish to the Holy Family and to San Francisco Xavier, kneeling before the *santos* (sacred pictures and images) much as they do before the altars in their own homes. For church services people appointed by the villagers lead prayers, and a group of women ordinarily sing hymns; appointed committees of men plan the fiestas. On the whole, religious observances are fairly casual and individual. The Desert People like to manage their own affairs: the fact that their religion is largely self-conducted is one of its chief holds on the Sonora Catholic Papago and a major barrier to inclusion in the Roman Catholic church.

THE FIESTA[7]

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796 Near the church in almost every Papago village is a dance ground and close by is a large adobe or ocotillo building with an open kitchen called the "fiesta house." In and around this building, the church, and the dance ground take place the great religious and social events of the year—the fiestas. Sonora Catholics celebrate only a few ecclesiastical holidays: New Year's, Easter, the Finding of the Holy Cross (May 3), All Souls' Day (November 2), Christmas, and the feast days of San José (March 19), San Juan (June 24), and San Francisco (October 4). No one village observes all these holidays, but each has its own celebrations, usually two or three a year, which for convenience are often held on week ends rather than on the actual feast day. They are given, the people say, "to show that we still believe in our religion."

Sometimes a single family will give a "small fiesta," but the important occasions, the "big fiestas," are community projects. One man, usually a person of influence, or a committee of men, assumes leadership, and all the families co-operate in the preparations. Church and fiesta house are swept, and blankets and rugs are placed on the floor. Benches are placed between posts marking the dance ground, and above are hung many-colored, crepe-paper streamers; sometimes the posts are even wrapped. The church is also brightened with streamers and paper flowers. Many other jobs must be done: wood is hauled for fires; food is collected; an orchestra is hired.

The fiesta usually begins in the afternoon or early evening with a procession, which forms just outside the church. If the village has a statue of the saint

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[7] Parts of this section are taken from Jane Chesky, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

[Text continues on p. 84. - Analyst]

527 796 being feted, it is carried at the head of the procession by a man or on a white palanquin by a group of young girls. Children carry the smaller family *santos*, over which other children hold large wooden arches wrapped in white cloth caught at intervals with red ribbons or sprays of paper flowers. Still other boys and girls carry lighted candles. Behind them march the men and women who lead the hymns, and the crowd follows. The orchestra walks beside the main procession, playing modern dance music, while the crowd sings Spanish hymns, unmindful of the orchestra. At intervals the singing stops, prayers are said in Spanish, but the dance music continues. After marching around the dance ground and the church, the procession enters the church for hymns and prayers.

When the short service is concluded, the religious phase of the fiesta is at an end, and all except a few pious old ladies or mothers with tiny babies leave the church for the dance ground. The women sit on the benches or tend to the cooking, and the men collect in groups. Large fires are lit, and lanterns are hung on the posts.

527 533 The orchestra, composed of violins, guitars, and snare and bass drums, plays two or three tunes, then the leader and the village chief make short speeches of welcome, in which the celebrants are bidden to enjoy the fiesta but to avoid drunkenness and to respect the property of others.

527 533 535 The children ordinarily start the dance; young girls, dancing together, are next on the floor; finally, young men and even old people join in. Some fairly recent jazz tunes are played, such as "Roll Out the Barrel" and "You Are My Sunshine," but most of the music consists of polkas and schottisches. Although some of the boarding-school Indians know the correct steps for these dances, almost everyone dances a sort of adapted foxtrot, the man usually grasping his partner tightly around the neck. Sometimes automobile lights are turned on the dancers with their gay rayon dresses and bright shirts. The crowd dances in a counterclockwise circle, and the schoolboy who tries to vary this pattern is sharply rebuked by the dancers he impedes.

527 535 At most fiestas a solo dancer (*pahkowla*) appears late in the evening. He is usually an elderly medicine man who dances and makes jokes for the amusement of the crowd. Barefoot, with his trousers rolled up, he wears strings of cocoon rattles wrapped around his legs from ankle to knee. To the music of one violin and a guitar or harp, the *pahkowla* performs his dance with arms hanging loosely from the shoulders and his body slightly bent forward; he stamps with one foot and scrapes the other into position on the unaccented beat of the music. His jokes, directed at the men in the audience, are frequently

vulgar.[8] Toward the end of his dance men or women from the crowd may join 527
the *pahkowla*. Afterward the dancing goes on as before. Sometimes there are 535
fireworks, a chicken-pull, or an olla-breaking.[9]

Meanwhile in the feast house the male members of the host families are 527
serving all the guests with chili, tamales, coffee, wheat buns, possibly beans, [262]
garbanzos (chick-peas), a meat-vegetable stew, and usually rice pudding or stewed fruit. There is considerable drinking in the darkness away from the fire and, since it is impolite to refuse a proffered bottle, a good deal of drunkenness. The police are frequently invited to be present in order to prevent trouble.

The fiesta does not break up until all the food is gone, perhaps at dawn or noon of the following day. Then the orchestra plays "Home, Sweet Home" in waltz time to close the danee.

On certain feast days there are special observances. On San José's Day 527
friends tie silk scarves, belts, and other gifts on the arms of all the men and 796
women named for the saint, in a ceremony called "tying the Joses and Josefinas." The Joses and Josefinas must then reciprocate by pouring drinks for the givers and finally for the whole crowd. At the fiesta of San Francisco objects blessed during the annual pilgrimage are brought out for the edification of the crowd.

MAGDALENA

Faith in San Francisco Xavier and his good works has a deep hold on all 788
Papago Catholics and is one of the main foci of Sonora Catholic belief. To some of these Indians this saint seems even more important than the Trinity, and every family hopes to make a pilgrimage to his church at Magdalena in Sonora, Mexico, each year.

Padre Kino, who brought Christianity to the Papago, dedicated the Magdalena church in 1711 to the patron saint of the Jesuits, Francis Xavier. During the ceremony Kino took ill at the altar and died shortly thereafter. He was buried in the church near the altar. As the fame of Kino's work among the Indians spread, the church became a shrine to which great crowds came from all over northwestern Mexico and what is now Arizona to celebrate the saint's day, December 3. Apparently when the Franciscan order replaced the

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[8] The *pahkowla*'s dance and jests may be copied from the Yaqui *pascola*, whom the Papago see perform in the United States and in Mexico, particularly at Magdalena. On special occasions the Papago hire *pascolas* from Arizona Yaqui villages to dance for them.

[9] In chicken-pulling, a rooster is buried up to the neck and riders run their horses toward it, leaning over to try to pull it out of the ground. In olla-breaking, people take turns hitting with sticks at an olla full of candies which hangs from a corner of the church. When someone succeeds in breaking the olla, everyone scrambles for the sweets that fall out.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

CHAPTER X

GENERAL CEREMONIAL ASPECTS OF PIMAN AGRICULTURE

Pi Pa 778 796 Ceremonialism was feebly developed among the Pimans as compared with the Pueblos. Underhill[1] has pointed out that the native line of division among the Papago is along a north and south line, the more advanced groups being to the east, and the more primitive ones to the west. Thus the Archie group retains many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere, such as the important ceremony of the Vikita. Although the Pima formerly had as much or more ritualism than did the Papago, it is much better preserved and more easily and completely obtainable from the Papago.

Pi Pa 1 989 The Piman conception was that ritual was just as important as actual cultivation in producing a crop, and no crop could be expected without it, consequently there existed a variety of individual and collective magical practices associated with the various stages of cultivation.

There was no formal group planting ceremony, the planting ritual consisting largely of singing individual songs of invocation and praise, maize, teparies, pumpkins and tobacco being planted with an individual invocation, which centered around maize as the principal crop. Also, with the Papago, the chief in each village got the people together just before planting time and exhorted them, saying it was now about time to plant crops, and that they should plant and industriously care for them. The day before planting started people began singing planting songs and continued until their repertoire was exhausted. During the summer, various nights of group singing were held to encourage the growth of crops. The most common of the various magical

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[1] Underhill, *Papago*, pp. 60, 231-35.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X539 It was tobacco. Ever afterwards they did not smoke because they said the tobacco was the flesh of their grandmother.

The second incident is concerning the rain.

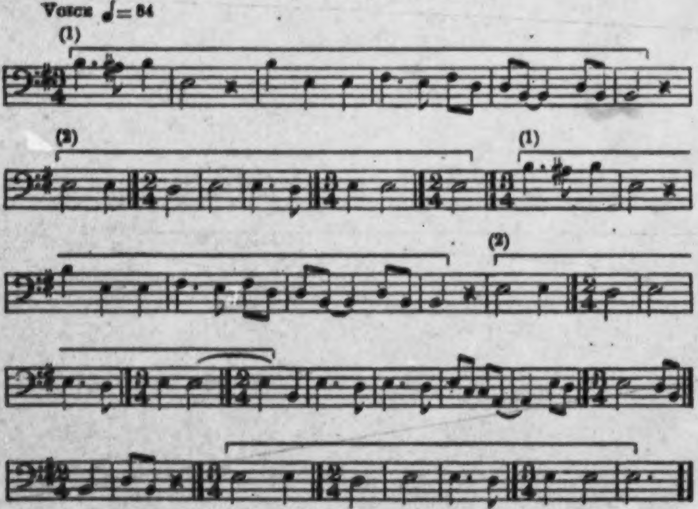
The people were camping near two mountains called Tatka[4] when a storm came and the rain fell steadily for 10 days. Some old medicine men went out together and "killed the rain," so the rain stopped falling. When Elder Brother found that the medicine men had killed the rain he said, "That is not right. The rain does no harm. It is good for us because the people we go to fight will stay at home if it rains and so we will get them." He sang this song to tell the people what would happen to the world if the rain were stopped. It is [796] to correct this action of the medicine men that the "tiswin making" and the rain making ceremonies were devised. (See pp. 137–175.)

X533

No. 15. "The World Would Burn Without the Rain"

(Catalogue No. 983)

Recorded by MATTIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

Now, now I have found what you did,
The world will burn if you do this,
Now I have found it out.

Analysis.—This song is classified with E as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not appear. In the latter part the keynote is the highest tone, which is an unusual structure. The fifth constitutes 17 per cent of the intervals, which is an unusually large proportion. The two rhythmic units have no resemblance to each other.

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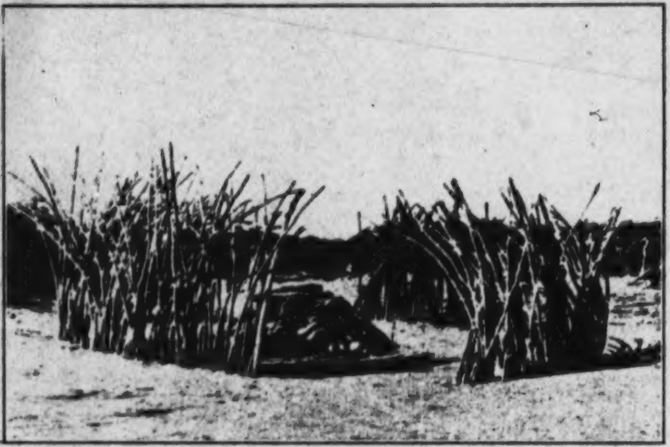
[4] A railroad now runs between these mountains.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 90 PLATE 18

● 796



a, Site of spring in which children were buried

782
796

b, Site at which offerings are made

[p. 114-B]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

SONGS CONNECTED WITH CEREMONIES

DANCE IN SUPPLICATION TO THE SUN

533x
535
796

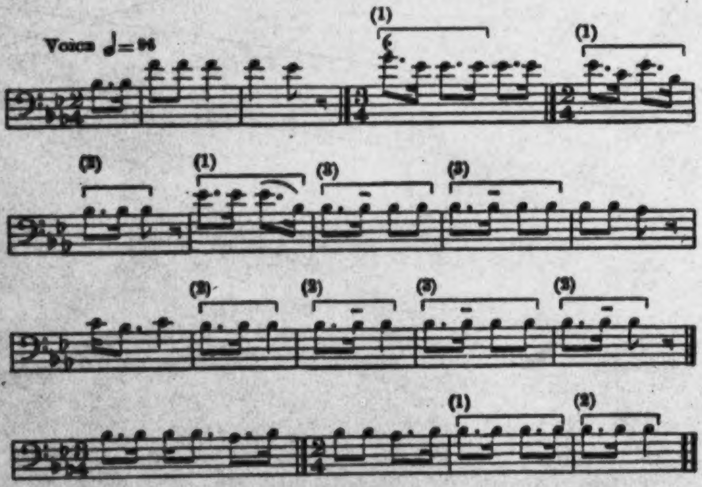
The origin of this dance is unknown, but all the songs used at the opening of the dance were received in a dream by one person. The dance is called *Ciwoltkona*, which means "hopping," and the dance had reference to the fertility of the field, but adverse circumstances made it impossible to obtain full data concerning it. The circle of dancers might move either clockwise or contraclockwise. In the middle of the circle was a representation of the sun, toward which the dancers extended their hands during song No. 97. Many songs were sung at rehearsals, and the man giving the dance selected those to be used at the performance. One of the opening songs contained the words, "I will stand here and begin to sing. The women hear and all come. You stand here and sing with me." The next three songs were recorded by a man living near San Xavier Mission. (Pl. 13, *b*.) The following song could be sung at any time:

No. 95. "Clouds Roll Toward Me"

533x

(Catalogue No. 1063)

Recorded by LEONARDO RIOS



TRANSLATION

At the south side is water covered with green scum. Above it clouds roll toward me. I see this and think perhaps I will be caught in the rain, so I return home.

Analysis.—This song contains six sorts of intervals in ascending and five in descending progression, which is an unusual variety. A

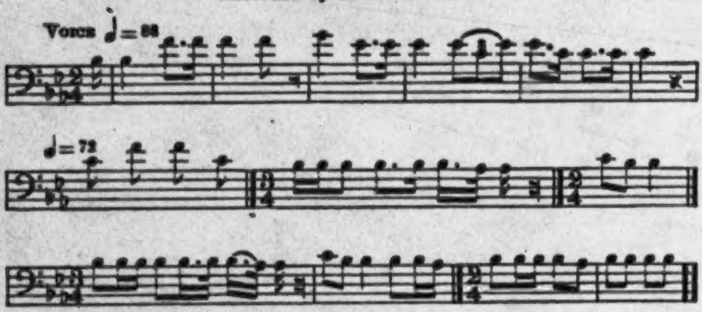
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

533x

No. 97. "The Dwelling Place of the Sun"

(Catalogue No. 1065)

Recorded by Leonardo Rios



TRANSLATION

In the east is the dwelling place of the sun.
On top of this dwelling place the sun comes up and travels over our heads.
Below we travel.
I raise my right hand to the sun and then stroke my body in the ceremonial manner.

Analysis.—The change of tempo is the chief characteristic of this song, which has the same range and tone material as the two next preceding. The most frequent interval is a semitone and the song contains no unit of rhythm.

At the close of the ceremony a song with these words was sung (free translation): "Sadly we will go home. We have danced and been happy. We have seen our friends. Now we go to our distant homes wondering when we will come together again." [796]

The Viikita

796

The purpose of this ceremony was the securing of rain and good crops. The manner of its observance differed in the northern and southern parts of the reservation and information on the subject was obtained in each of these localities.[29]

The two observances are alike in the presence of "navico" or clowns, and in the carrying of representations of whatever was desired in abundance. A representation of the sun was also carried in both ceremonies. One difference between the customs was the drinking of *tiswin*, which formed part of the southern ceremony and was absent in the northern. Tiswin is the term commonly applied to a native wine made from the fruit of the saguaro cactus. [273]

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[29] Cf. "New Trails in Mexico," by Carl Lumholtz, pp. 88-98; "The Papago Harvest Festival," by J. Alden Mason, in the American Anthropologist, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 13-25; "The Papago Ceremony of Vikita," by Edward H. Davis, Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. III, no. 4, Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1920.

796 In former times the Viikita ceremony was held every four years, that in the north being in November and that in the south being in the latter part of August or in September. Two derivations of the word *viikita* were given, the most reliable informants stating it came from a word meaning "to fast," while others said it came from *viiki*, [785] meaning white downy eagle plumes. Fasting was part of the observance, and white eagle plumes were worn by the dancers. In the northern part of the reservation this ceremony was held near the "children's burying ground." A tradition states that a spring overflowed and threatened the country with inundation, so two children were buried alive in it to stop the flow of water. Because of this tradition it is customary for either two or four girls and boys to take part in the ceremony, representing the children who were thus sacrificed. This is peculiar to the northern observances of the ceremony. The origin of the ceremony is, in this region, attributed [776] to a deity called Navico, who is said to have given the gourd to the Indians.

Stones are heaped above the spring in which the children were buried, and the place is surrounded with branches of ocatillo cactus stuck in the ground. (Pl. 18, *a*.) These are renewed every year and heaps of discarded branches can be seen in the background. After this spring had been choked a smaller spring issued from the ground [782] a few rods away. This was covered with stones, and there the Indians place offerings of various trinkets or valuables. (Pl. 18, *b*.) Around this heap of stones is a well-worn path, and straight paths extend from this to the cardinal points. It was said that a person bringing a gift to the place should enter by one of the radial paths, run around the heap of stones, and run out by the path on which he had entered. The location was a few miles from Santa Rosa village. (Cf. Lumholtz, op. cit., p. 105.)

Four villages united in the northern ceremony, which was held for the last time in the year 1912 at Arci, located about halfway between Santa Rosa and Anakum. The other three villages taking part were Santa Rosa, Anakum, and Akcina. People living elsewhere and attending the ceremony connected themselves temporarily with one of these villages. About fifty people came from each of the four villages, and in each there were about six men who had charge of the ceremonial articles.

A ceremonial inclosure was made with an opening toward the east and at some distance was a similar inclosure where the singers rehearsed the songs. The walls of these inclosures were made of cornstalks, and the height of the wall was the length of two rows of cornstalks, the upper row overlapping the lower. This made a wall about 10 feet in height. Preparations for the ceremony included the gathering of the watermelons and the making of many tamales tied

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

in the middle (wahpolihita), which were collected by the Navico and 786
given to persons who remained all day in the ceremonial inclosure.
More important than this was the making of representations of [532]
everything that was desired in abundance and depended on water for
its existence, such as cattle, horses, birds, corn, pumpkins, beans,
cane, and wheat, also representations of the cactus and of clouds.
Some of these were large, the image of a cactus being 4 feet high but
made of material so light that it could be carried by two men. A
large representation of the sun was made of "something shiny." A
certain man, expert in the making of the images, went from one village
to another inspecting the work. He was the last man who knew the
formal speeches that should precede the songs in the ceremony but he
died in 1919 leaving no son, therefore his knowledge of the origin and
traditions of this remarkable ceremony has perished.

It appears that not every person could carry one of these representa- 786
tions, for Mattias Encinas related a dream which, he said, entitled
him to this privilege. He said that he could have made a representa- 787
tion of a cloud and carried it in the ceremony but so many others 533
carried clouds that he never availed himself of this privilege. Encinas'
son was the writer's interpreter and did not know of his father's dream until it was related and the song recorded for this work. It is a peculiarity of Papago music that the songs received in dreams are in groups of four. If more than four songs are received by one man he receives another entire group of four. The melody is often alike in the songs of the group but the words are different, constituting them "different songs" in the mind of the Indian.

Mattias Encinas said that when he was a child he attended a Viikita ceremony and wondered why the ceremony was held and why some of the men were dressed as clowns. As he grew older he sang the songs which he heard, being careful to observe the rule that these songs must never be whistled. By the time he was about 16 years old he had attended two or three of these ceremonies, and it was at this time that he had a series of dreams, one occurring every night for a period of four nights. In these dreams he saw spirits, heard them sing, and learned their songs. The first night they were close to him, they sang and walked backward until they disappeared. The next night they came again, singing, but farther away; the third night they were still farther away, and the fourth night they were so far away that he could scarcely hear them, but by that time he had learned the songs.

(4) 533x

A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is singing,
A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is standing still,
It is raining and thundering up there,
It is raining here,
Under the mountain the corn tassels are shaking,
Under the mountain the horns [30] of the child corn are glistening.

The persons taking part in the ceremony were: (1) The leaders 796 (*Coiwada*); (2) clowns (*Navico*); (3) dancers and singers; (4) certain singers who "started new songs" (*Kokspakam*); (5) one or two boys and the same number of girls (*Hakiwata*), and a young man stationed near them who sang special songs. The leaders (number not stated) [302] had their faces painted half one color and half another, either horizontally or vertically divided. The clowns were painted in any grotesque manner they fancied. Each wore a feather headdress and a long tunic, and carried a crooked bow and arrow, also a pair of eagle feathers tied together, such as a doctor carries and uses when treating the sick. The latter insignia was not burlesque, as it was believed that any of these persons could benefit, if not cure, the sick. The office of clown was hereditary and there were usually one or more of them in each village. The dancers were also the singers and usually numbered about 40 or 50. They were the sons of singers and their performance was obligatory. The songs had been taught them by the old people whom they succeeded. They wore no clothing except the breechcloth, even sandals being forbidden, and their bodies were painted white, yellow, or red in solid color, no black being used in this ceremony. Men with "bull roarers" were important to the conducting of the ceremony, as they gave signals for assembling and for other events. [534] A bull roarer consisted of a blade of cactus connected with a handle of greasewood by means of a cord about 3 feet in length. Holding the handle, a man swung the blade through the air. The specimen illustrated (pl. 15, *c*) is about the average size and has a blade 14 inches long. In former times the cord was made of the fiber of a plant called *aŏhta*. The blade was painted in any solid color.[31] Lumholtz states that the blade was painted with designs to represent corn. This instrument was one of the ceremonial articles that were kept from year to year.

The ceremony was held at Arci, as already stated, and the people from each visiting village camped by themselves. The signal for assembling was given by the men with bull roarers, 60 or more of these being in use by the time the people entered the inclosure. The sound as they were swung through the air was said to be like thunder and "sounds in the clouds." If a man were accidentally hit by one

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[30] This refers to the slender spikes or prongs at the top of the stalks of young corn.

[31] Cf. Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1, pp. 170-171.

796 of these in another's man's hand he pressed his own blade to the wounded spot. Failing to do this he would have a sore in that place or would suffer a general illness.

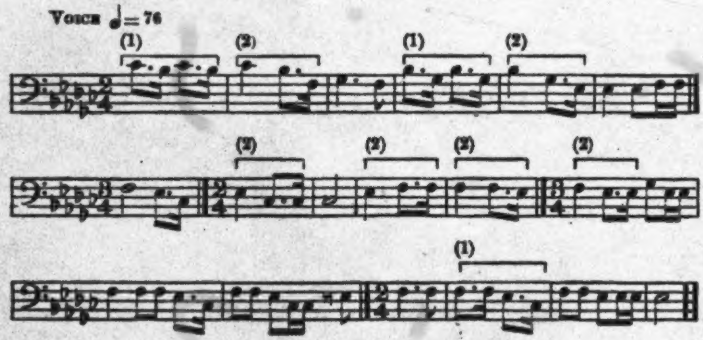
At the time of the ceremony the people who lived at Arci went in a body and escorted the visitors to the inclosure. When the people were within about 50 feet of the inclosure they all rushed toward the entrance, but the people from Arci preceded the others in entering. During the day there were several processions in which the representations or images of things desired in abundance were carried and displayed to the people. It was required that each article be carried once, and that each dancer should take part in at least one procession. The images, after being thus exhibited, were placed in the inclosure and later were stored in a place known only to those connected with the ceremony.

7/533

No. 99. "We are Singing in the Night"

(Catalogue No. 1009)

Recorded by Jose Manuel



TRANSLATION

Now as the night is over us we are singing the songs that were given to us.
You see the clouds beginning to form on top of the mountains.
They look like little white feathers.
You will see them shake like feathers in a wind.
Soon the raindrops will fall and make our country beautiful.

Analysis.—This song is minor in tonality, yet one-third of the progressions are major thirds. It is peculiar in the prominence of B, the sixth above the keynote, while the fifth occurs only twice.

796 The first procession took place just before sunrise and was led by the *Coiwada*, walking slowly and scattering sacred corn meal with a motion like that of sowing grain. They were followed by a man carrying a representation of the sun, and by the dancers who carried a portion of the images. The clowns ran around the dancers and acted

in an amusing manner. During the day the processions passed around 796
the outside to the back of the inclosure where the boys and girls,
representing the sacrificed children (see p. 138), were stationed.
These children were required to stand in one place and dance all day.
Behind them was a young man with small rasping sticks who sang
special songs. The clowns went around the camp and sat down with
one group after another, being unwilling to leave unless they received
a gift of food, which they took to persons in the inclosure. Friends
of the sick brought them to this ceremony with the belief that any of
the clowns could benefit them, as all the clowns were supposed to be [755]
medicine men.

The Viikita as observed in the southern part of the reservation 796
shows some differences from the northern custom. The following
information was obtained at Vomari village, about 7 miles from the 773
Mexican border. Mattias Hendricks, a Papago chief, said that the Viikita had its origin in the village of Kiithowak[38] in Sonora and was given to the people by Elder Brother, also called Montezuma. In the middle of this village there is a spring of water. The people once saw in this spring an animal that they knew belonged in the sea. The animal came out of the spring, lay around, and swallowed a few people. When the inhabitants of the village found that it was a dangerous animal they tried to kill it but could not do so. They sent word to Elder Brother where he lived in Baboquivari Mountain and asked him to come and see if he could save them from danger. When Elder Brother came toward the place he said, "I am going over yonder. You must watch and if you see clouds come up and stay in the sky you will know that I have killed the animal, but if there are no clouds it will mean that he has swallowed me."[38a] Elder Brother sharpened his knife very sharp and put it in his belt.

There is a little mountain on the north side of the village. He went along there and when he was about to turn at the point of the little mountain and could see where the animal lived a wind came and blew him right into the animal's mouth. When he got inside he crawled along and found the animal's heart, and cut its throat from the inside. The animal jumped up and then fell to the ground. When the animal died Elder Brother crawled out and found that the animal had fallen on the shore of the sea. Then clouds appeared where he had predicted and the people knew that he had killed the monster. Afterwards he returned to the village and told them about it. Ever afterwards the day was kept as a thanksgiving festival.
Four Viikita songs were recorded at Vomari but no attempt was made 796
to study the ceremony in detail. It was said that two inclosures were

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[38] This village is referred to as Quitovaquita by Davis in his description of the ceremony. See "The Papago Ceremony of Vikita," by Edward H. Davis, in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. III, no. 4, published by the Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1920.

[38a] Cf. a similar signal on p. 52.

196 built near together and in one of these inclosures the "images" and other ceremonial articles were stored. Among the leading participants in the ceremony were two men, each of whom carried a wand about 3½ feet long, decorated with feathers in the middle and at the ends. These men had rattles attached to their ankles. They stood facing each other, one at the east and the other at the west. They "danced with one foot" and made motions with the wands. First the man at the east side sang and the man at the west moved his wand, then the man at the west sang and the man at the east moved his wand. Mattias Hendricks said that in the ceremony he attended the wands were moved forward and back with an even motion.

On the day preceding the Viikita ceremony the people placed four piles of sand beside each house, and beside the piles of sand they were required to place cooked food or cactus sirup. Three leaders of the dancers went among the piles of sand together with the clowns and all the people crowded around them. If the people wanted any of the food or sirup they were allowed to take it and hold it up, a clown shot it with an arrow and they were then allowed to eat it. If a young girl took up any of the food the clowns knew that she was unmarried. They hit her, and then anyone might take hold of her and marry her. The dancing continued all night.

One man was appointed to watch for the rising of the sun. When the sun arose on the morning of the ceremony this man put on a headdress made of feathers and led a procession which moved from the ceremonial inclosure to the place of the dancing. This man did not stop at the place of the dancing but walked from the east to the south, west, and north, returning to the east, after which he removed the feather headdress. Following him in the procession were the three dancers mentioned in connection with the piles of sand, also a man with rasping sticks and a woman carrying a basket which contained an "image." (According to Davis this was the heart of the monster slain by Elder Brother.) During the night the basket had been on top of a post. The woman placed the basket at a "little place fixed for it on the west side," and seated herself in front of it. The men with the rasping sticks sat in a line in front of her and sang, a pause being made after each song. The woman was not allowed to move from her place until sunset. At intervals during the day the three leading dancers went from the inclosure to a place where men with rasping sticks were singing, these men being others than the group near the basket. As they approached the group one of the leaders ran forward and threw sacred corn meal on the ground and the men behind him jumped and stood on the place where the meal had fallen; this was repeated and each man advanced in this manner, a special song being sung while this was done. After this was completed the leader walked as rapidly as possible to the inclosure. At the conclusion of the ceremony each person was given a "little branch of a certain tree" (prayer stick). The people took these to their homes in the assurance that they would have rain and consequently have good crops. 796

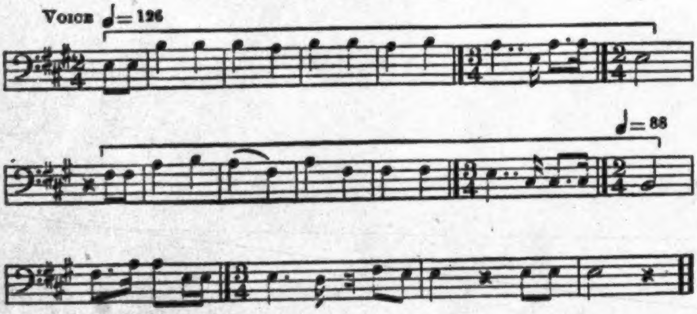
Medicine men exhibited their power during this gathering. Jose Ascencio (pl. 17, *b*) said he had attended the ceremony several times and that on one occasion he saw a medicine man come out of the inclosure and walk toward the east. It was about noon and the ground was hard and dusty. The man walked a little distance, sat down, made a cigarette, and smoked it. Then he took out his handkerchief, spread it on the ground, and put fine dirt in it; he took up the handkerchief by the corners, twisted it, finally twisting it tighter and tighter, and water came out of it. When he opened the handkerchief there was wet clay in it. The man put the clay in his pocket and walked back to the inclosure. There was no singing; he only "smoked and breathed on the handkerchief." 796 756

The following Viikita songs were sung during the dancing: 533½

No. 100. "The Corn on Frog Mountain"

(Catalogue No. 1050)

Recorded by Jose Ascencio



TRANSLATION

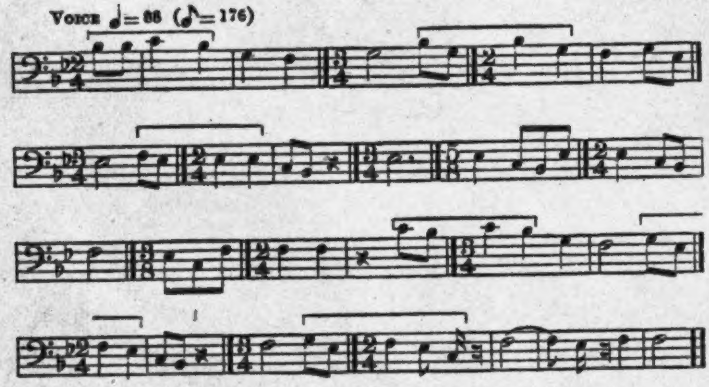
Frog Mountain, on top of it the corn comes up.
Eat it, eat it.

Analysis.—This is a melody of unusual interest, consisting of two periods of six measures each, with a closing period of four measures in a slower tempo. A triple measure with practically the same slow tempo occurs near the end of each period. For convenience of observation the song is transcribed with A as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not appear.

No. 103. "A Flaming Light in the East"

(Catalogue No. 1008)

Recorded by Jose Manuel



TRANSLATION

We see the light that brightens in the east,
It seems to turn to flame,
On the edge of it is something that looks like a white feather,
But we see that it is white clouds.

Analysis.—This particularly pleasing melody is classified with B-flat as the keynote, though the third above that tone does not occur. The tone material is that of the first five-toned scale, in which the third and seventh tones of the octave are omitted. It is interesting to note the difference of accent in measures 1 to 3 and 16 to 18. The rests and the time in the 3-8 and 5-8 measures were given with clearness.

THE RAIN CEREMONY

196 [273] 115 In the early part of August the Papago held a festival at which the medicine men made divinations for rain. This was in accordance with an ancient custom and was accompanied by the drinking of a wine made from the fruit of the saguaro cactus and commonly called "tiswin."[329] The principal informants on this subject were Jose Antoin, of Sells, and Mattias Hendricks, of Vomari. Practically the only difference in the two narratives was that informants at Hendricks village, in the extreme south of the reservation, said that songs were received by men while under the influence of the native wine. Information was also obtained from Sivariano Garcia, of San Xavier, but in this, as in the account of the bamboo game contest, his account was said by the informants to be the Pima version. Jose Antoin is chief of the rather large village of Pisinamak, and a small village called

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[329] The Papago designation is ha'san (saguaro cactus) na'vai (drink).

they were predicted. He said, "At that time men wore nothing but 539x
the G string. They rose before daylight and went out to look for 261
Apache. See! If young men do this now they get sick and can 273
stand nothing; they take cold and die.")

Preparations for the saguaro festival began in June when the fruit 273
of the saguaro cactus was gathered. The fruit grows at the top of 796 ●
the cactus, which is a column 20 to 40 feet in height. The implement
used in gathering the fruit is a long pole with a hook at the end. 222
Much importance is attached to the shape of the hook, and the
group of stars known as the Big Dipper is called the Cactus Hook [821]
because of a fancied resemblance. The work of gathering the fruit
and making the sirup was done in places called cactus camps, several
families combining in the work. The equipment of such a camp
consisted of a thatch in a tree, on which the cactus fruit was spread
to dry, and a covered fireplace. A few ollas were usually left in the
camp and were not disturbed by travelers. A deserted camp south
of Santa Rosa was visited and photographed. (Pl. 19, *a*, *b*.)

The cactus fruit was boiled in water, strained through a mat of 273
grass or branches to remove seeds, etc., the juice was then boiled 796
down to a sirup and placed in ollas, and sealed with a bit of broken
pottery covered with mud. At the time of the ceremony these ollas
were opened and the sirup mixed with water and allowed to ferment,
making "tiswin." Smaller ollas were also filled for household use, 272
as the sirup mixed with water and not fermented is a pleasing drink
in hot weather. The sirup might be either light or heavy and could
be kept for a year. If kept for a long time the color became dark.
A similar drink was made from the fruit of the "organ-pipe" cactus.

The following incident was related concerning one of these camps. 000
It was said that while the older people were busy with their work
seven children strayed away from the camp and were lost. Their
parents searched for them several days but could not find them. In
the camp there was a man whose dreams usually came true. When
the parents could not find the children they went to him. One night
he "dreamed a song" and the next morning he saddled a pony and
went to a place called Viīnikût. When he got to the place he found
footprints of children and followed them all over the mountain.
Finally he saw a boy in the bushes. He got down, tied his horse,
and went toward the boy. When the boy saw the man coming he
ran farther into the bushes, told the other children and they all ran
away. The man chased and finally caught them and brought them
home. They had been lost for eight days and would have perished
without water.

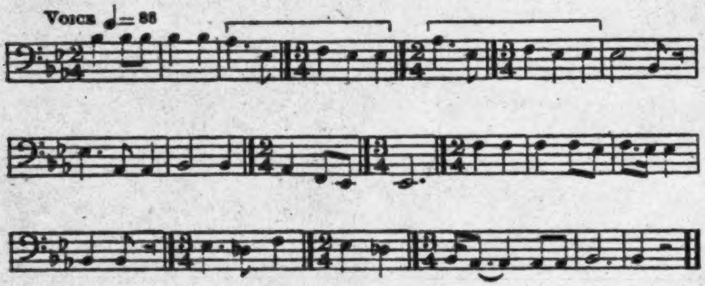
The song heard by the medicine man in his dream told him that 535x
the children had not died of thirst. It had rained where they were
and the water had stayed in a little "water hole." The children had

X 533 found this and drunk the water. In old times Viinikût was farm land, but the parents of the children did not remember this nor think the children might have strayed there.

No. 105. Song Concerning the Lost Children

(Catalogue No. 995)

Recorded by Mattias Hendricks



TRANSLATION

Viinikût fields I got into.
I stayed there and my heart will be wet enough to last.

Analysis.—In this song concerning the lost children we have a wandering melody with the unusual compass of 12 tones. An ascending ninth occurs midway through the song and the ascending interval at the close suggests a query. A quarter of the intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. It is interesting to compare the rhythmic unit with measures 8 and 9 and 16 and 17, in which the note values are the same but the accent is different.

344 The lodge for the making of tiswin was erected near the lodge of
the chief at Santa Rosa. This was visited and photographed.
● 796 (Pl. 19, *c*.) It was round in shape with only one opening, a door
273 toward the east. The lodge consisted of a framework covered with
grass having tree branches or the long stems of the ocatillo cactus on
276 the outside. Preparation for the August festival included the making
of a large quantity of cigarettes for every one to use freely. These
were made of native tobacco, rolled in corn husks.

The persons taking part in the ceremony comprised a leader for
796 the entire ceremony, the men who mixed the tiswin and one man
273 who tasted it, four men who watched the ollas in the lodge during the
period of fermentation, four medicine men who made the rain divinations, and the singers, whose number was not prescribed, though 16 was the usual number, this permitting four men to be seated at and between the cardinal points during the distribution of the wine. At the four cardinal points were shallow holes with straw in them. The ollas were placed in these holes during the period of fermentation.

273 796 The boiling of the fruit of the cactus into sirup and its storing in ollas has been mentioned on a previous page. The wine was made by mixing this sirup with water and subjecting it to heat until it fermented, when it was drunk at once. Cold water was placed in a large basket and the sirup added, the usual proportion being about half a pint of sirup to a gallon or a gallon and a half of water. A woman was never allowed to mix the tiswin, but she could bring the water if she desired. It was the belief that if a woman mixed the tiswin the people who drank it would do nothing but cry. The water and sirup were stirred with the hands, a requirement being that no implement be used. When the sirup was first put in the water one of the mixers said, "I am now mixing you up. Do me the favor to bring good wind and clouds and rain, and to keep the people from bad behavior after they have drunk the wine." This portion of the work was under the direction of an expert or "taster." From time to time the mixers took some of the sirup and water in a cup and gave it to the taster, who said "add more water," or "more sirup," according to his judgment. The entire quantity was enough to fill four ollas, each of which held 5 or 6 gallons. When the taster was satisfied with the mixture, it was poured into the ollas, which had been set in the straw at the cardinal points, and the ollas were covered tightly. This was done about the middle of the day, the door was tightly closed, and the ollas remained in the lodge that night, the next day, and the following night, the wine often being ready to use about 9 o'clock on the following morning. A fire was made outside the lodge in front of and a short distance from the door, and coals from this fire were brought and placed in the middle of the lodge to supply an even heat and induce the desired fermentation. The wood used for this fire was mesquite and ironwood, which hold the heat for a long time, giving out a gentle heat.

273 796 X 533 Four men watched the fermentation of the wine, two being on duty during the day and two during the night. These men also passed the wine to the people when it was finished. Their station in the lodge while watching the ollas was between the east and north ollas. They lay down most of the time, as it was very warm in the lodge, and they sang most of the time without accompaniment. If they were lying down when they began to sing they were required to sing four songs before rising. Either man could suggest a song or they could consult as to what song they would sing next, but there must be four songs. Among the songs of the watchers were the two next following.

Another song of the same class which was not transcribed con- 533^{x}
tained these words: "Spotted Mountain, at the top rises a white
wind. The white wind makes the spotted mountain into a white
mountain. At the top of the white mountain rose a white eagle. I
saw it and my heart began to fail me. I scarcely knew what to do."

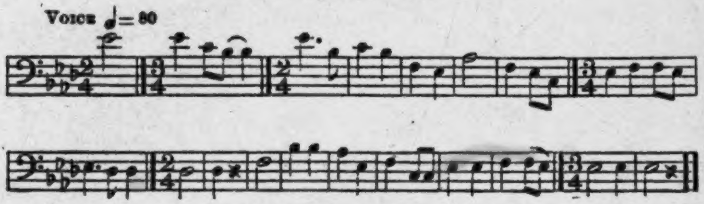
The watchers inspected the ollas frequently to see how the fer- 273
mentation was progressing. If some fault occurred near the beginning
of the process it was possible to begin over, throwing out the wine 796
and making fresh. The watchers, for instance, might report that
moisture was on the outside of an olla. This indicated a slight leak
and the wine was emptied into another olla. It was expected that
the fermenting wine would rise to the top of the olla and sometimes
run over a little. This should occur four times. After it had risen
to the top of the olla the third time it was tasted and if it were not
doing well the taster and the leader of the ceremony knew what to do.
Sometimes a medicine man had interfered and used magic to spoil [554]
the wine. In that case it would bubble up, then die down, and get
cold, and the people knew it would turn into sour water. If such a
man were detected he might be whipped or even expelled from the
village. While the wine was fermenting the medicine men were 796
trying to locate rain. Four men combined in this work but only two 787
were seated in the circle when the tiswin was drunk. These were
men who had been qualified by dreams or had "met some strange
thing at night." Their actions in trying to locate the rain were
similar to those when trying to locate the enemy, on the warpath.
The gestures were so much a matter of individuality that no action
can be said to be typical. Those who had seen the performance
said that some men used a wand, some an arrow, and others made
gestures with their hands. A man might hold up an arrow and move
it through the air as if testing the direction, or he might extend his
right hand before him and his left hand behind him, motioning to
the singers if he wanted them to sing faster or louder, as though he
felt that he had found the direction of what he sought. An informant
said that he saw a man make the rain divination at a tiswin festival
and he "made motions with a little stick with a feather on the end."
He moved the stick downward and water dripped from the end and
was caught in a bottle. The man turned and sprinkled the water
on the people. Some fell on this informant and the water felt hot.
The medicine man said, "This water is so hot that the clouds will
soon pass after a short shower, but to-morrow afternoon there will
be a cool, abundant rain." It happened as the man had predicted.
In reply to a direct inquiry the informants said that the medicine
men did not cause the rain but "located and predicted it."

X533 The following song was sung during the rain divination:

No. 108. Song During Rain Divination

(Catalogue No. 1032)

Recorded by Jose Hendricks



TRANSLATION

The eagle wing, under that I sat with the tiswin,
I drank that and I am well drunk.
The water that gathered on the blue hawk feathers at the end of the vasi,
I drank of that and was staggered.

Analysis.—This song is characterized by the frequency of the fourth which constitutes 7 of the 25 progressions. Certain simple measure divisions occur more than once, but these short phrases are so closely intertwined that it is difficult to separate one and designate it as a rhythmic unit. The emphasis upon D flat occurring midway through the song is unusual and interesting.

796 The people assembled to the number of 100 or more for the drinking
of the tiswin. All were in gala attire but few were painted except
273 those who were to serve the tiswin. In old times there was a special
[386] paint for use at this festival, made of white clay and a soft black mud
ground together. The wine was served as soon as it was ready,
which frequently was about 9 o'clock in the morning.

The circle of people were seated at the east of the lodge, opposite
796 the door, and there was a fire in the center of the circle. One singer
X533 sat at each of the cardinal points, and there were three singers between
each of these singers. Those who were seated at the cardinal points
273 were the leaders and had their faces painted half white and half red.
They were painted in pairs, the man at the north having the left half
of his face painted white, and the man at the south having the right
side of his face white, while the man at the east had his left cheek,
and the man at the west had his right cheek white.

At the east a medicine man sat at the left of the singer and at the
796 west a medicine man sat at the right of the singer. Each of the four
273 men appointed to distribute the wine carried a basket filled with
tiswin. (Pl. 10, *b*.) Two of these men were stationed at the eastern
part of the circle and two at the western. The two at the east set
their baskets in front of the singer at the east, and those at the west

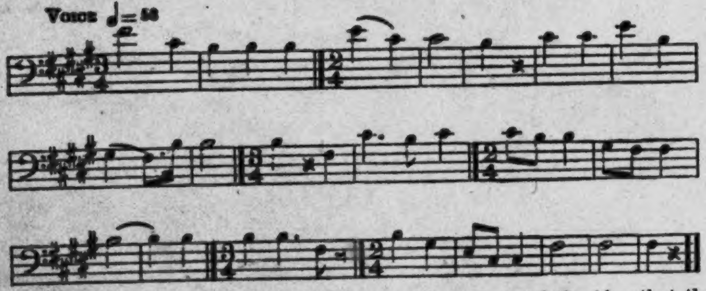
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

placed their baskets before the singer at that point. He extended his hands, side by side, hanging downward from the wrists so that the fingers almost touched the wine, then he held them up with the fingers pointed toward the sun. He repeated this four times and after the fourth time he made a sweeping gesture to include the full circle of the earth. Then the two men carrying the baskets separated, one going to the right and the other to the left. There were cups in the basket, and the wine was offered to everyone. The following song was sung while the wine was distributed. 796 273

No. 109. Song While Tiswin is Distributed 533x

(Catalogue No. 1058)

Recorded by Victoria



(The words of this song were not recorded, but expressed the idea that the tiswin brought the wind and clouds.)

Analysis.—The tempo of this song is particularly slow. The song is analyzed with B as the keynote but the third above that tone does not appear. The intervals are wide, one-third being intervals of a fourth. Attention is directed to the descent of a seventh in measures 7 and 8, and the three descending thirds in the fourth and fifth measures from the close.

Many songs were sung during the distribution of the wine. The leader of the ceremony could say to the man at the east, "Start a song." He would sing it four times in a moderate voice for the others to listen, and then say louder, "All join." Then this singer at the east would say to the singer at the north, "I pass it to you," meaning that the singer at the north was to start a song. If he could not, he would say, "I pass it on," meaning that the singer at the west was to start a song. It might go around in this way, back to the man at the east, and it would be his turn to start another song. Jose Antoin said that no accompanying instrument was used in his village, but that in another village the singers walked around and shook a rattle while they were singing, although the customs connected with the songs were similar in other respects. 796 533x

796 273 When the wine had been passed around once the men who distributed it stood silent and erect behind the singers while a speech was made, usually by a man dressed as if old and poor. Anyone who knew the speech could make it. His clothing was ragged, he had white clay on his hair, and walked with a cane. The speech was as follows:

796 "My friends and relatives, you drink the wine I have prepared expressly for you, and if any have power to draw rain from the east where stand the oldest ruins (in that old ruin lives the lightning doctor whose name is Mocking Bird) let the man ask the Mocking Bird doctor to send the best kind of wind and after that the best kind of clouds. Ask him to send the white clouds and after that the black clouds, and to make them cover the whole earth as they come toward us. The sky looks so high to us, and the clouds start from the earth and extend to the sky. In them is the thunder and the lightning which we welcome because we know they bring good to us. We hear the sound of the thunder in the mountains around us. Let us all join in our feeling to have the rain. Let us all be glad to see the water running in the little washes to moisten the fields where we plant our seed. Let us see the shape of the edges of the washes that look so beautiful to us. The plants that come up will be green and beautiful in the field, and when they have finished growing we will get the food for which we are now hoping.

"From our center turn your thoughts toward the east where stand the white ruins. In those ruins are white winds and white clouds. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins come the white winds and white clouds which contain the heaviest rain. From our center turn your thoughts toward the west where stand the black ruins. In those ruins are black winds and black clouds. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins come the black winds and black clouds which contain the heaviest rain. From our center turn your thoughts toward the north. There stand the green ruins. In those ruins are green winds and green clouds. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins will come that which will make all green things on the earth grow faster. From our center turn your thoughts toward the south where stand the yellow ruins. In those ruins are yellow flowers. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins will come the yellow clouds, that will be the finishing touch on our plants and on all things that grow on the earth. In finishing we have our feeling toward the four points of the winds and are sure we will get some help from the four ruins."

796 273 After making this speech the man was addressed by a term of relationship or as "friend." Only this one speech was made. The men with the baskets then carried the wine around the circle. If

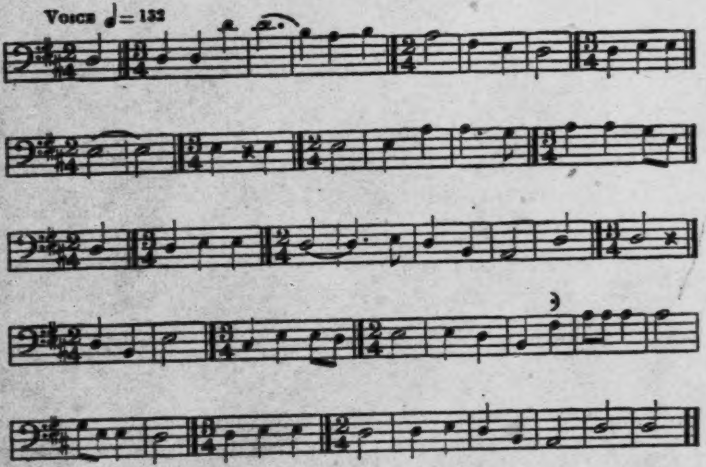
796

there was not enough they replenished it; if there was too much they 273
continued to go around the circle until it was gone.

The effect of the wine was said to be a general "good feeling," 796
and to last a night and a day. Jose Antoin said that no songs were 273
received while under the influence of the wine, but informants at
Vomari village said that songs were thus received. Rafael Mendez 533x
(pl. 16, *c*) said that a man who had drunk the tiswin once saw Coyote
come toward him. The man began to come to his senses and Coyote
sang and taught him many songs. The number was said to be about
one hundred. The first of these songs was the following:

No. 110. "A Blue Wind" (Catalogue No. 1026) 533x

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



TRANSLATION

A blue wind.
I saw the tracks on the blue mountain.
Inside that mountain I found a bamboo plant growing.
From there I saw a seven-headed mountain running low from east to west.

Analysis.—The ascent of an octave at the opening of this song is unusual, and is followed by a downward gliding of the voice. The movement of the melody is free and the ascending and descending intervals are equal in number. Attention is directed to the ascent of a seventh in two progressions, at the twelfth measure from the close. Like many other Papago songs, this is distinctly different from the songs of the white race.

The man said that Coyote put his hands on him and ran them along from his head to his feet. Then he began to come to his senses. This experience was made the subject of the following song, the words of which were not recorded.

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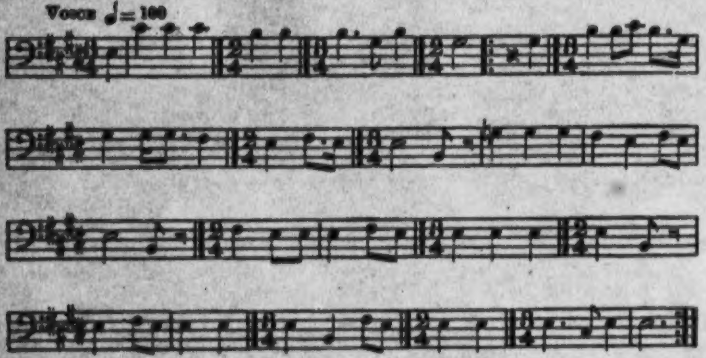
No. 112. "You Make Me Drink Red Water"

533x

(Catalogue No. 979)

Recorded by Mattias Hendricks



TRANSLATION

A red water you made me drink,
When I was drunk I went around as though I would fall down,
I fell on the ground face downward.

Analysis.—This song contains six sorts of ascending and four sorts of descending intervals, which is an unusual variety. It is a particularly pleasing melody and a majority of its phrases are four measures in length. The lowering of the third adds interest to the song.

A somewhat different tradition of the origin of the rain ceremony 796 had been given by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier village. This was 273 read to Jose Antoin, who said that he had heard an old man relate it 789 and that it was the Pima tradition. Garcia's narrative is as follows: Long ago, when the Papago first came to this region, there was no water and the medicine men brought rain. The custom began at Casa Grande. A medicine man living there made a long cactus, but he did not like it. He picked the fruit when it was so dry that the seeds were ready to fall. He handed it to one of his men, saying, "Take it back, I do not like it here." This man met Coyote, who wanted the seeds. The man handed them to him, and then wanted to get them back, but Coyote instead of giving them back held his hand high, and scattered them broadcast. The wind was blowing toward the north, therefore the giant cactus is everywhere growing on the south slope of the mountains and in low places. Garcia said that the medicine man made his cactus sink down in the earth, but [103] it came up on the mountain called Kihotawak.[240] A bird was flying over the mountain and saw the cactus. He picked some of the fruit

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[240] This mountain is named from its resemblance to an inverted burden basket (kiho).

796 and took it back to the village, and the people made it into wine.
They put the wine in ollas, and the second morning it was ready to
273 drink. Two or four villages united in making the wine. At this
789 time the medicine men worked to get a knowledge of the rain. If
their report was favorable the people planted their crops in a few days.
If a medicine man could not locate the rain the first night he worked part of the next day and part or all of the next night, but if three or four men worked at the same time they could find the rain sooner. Garcia said that he had frequently been present at this ceremony and had learned many of its songs, four of which he recorded. If the people moved about the place they walked gently and slowly so as not to distract the attention of the medicine man who went around slowly, beginning at the east, then going to the north, west, and south to see if he could feel a cool breeze. In summer the rain came from the east, later from the north, and in winter or spring from the west. He felt in all directions to see if he could detect rain, and when he thought that he had the right direction he tried to bring the rain from thence. In doing this he used the means that were given him when he was made a medicine man. In the old days a man was not afraid of a test of his power. For instance, he would take in his hand the driest thing he could find and would squeeze water out of it.

X533 The people sang to increase the power of the medicine men, this being similar to the custom of "singing for the medicine men" when they were trying to locate the enemy for a war party. (See p. 183 in which the people sang with the doctor in treating the sick, thus putting forth their power to supplement his.)

000 straw, barley, or wheat, the usual feed for animals. If our horses had not been hardy creatures of the desert, we should not have been able to move about much at that time of the year. I decided to return to Menager's store, at present called Indian Oasis, where we might succeed in securing forage.

A Papago was an efficient clerk in the store. Near by
[177] was a small village of civilized Indians; the women, who
had been to school near Tucson, after a while responded
[191] in English, very softly spoken. A phonograph, which
was the only one I saw in the Papagueria, was produced
and operated for my entertainment. Many Indians came
into the store from the neighboring country. As they
[261] were not in the habit of carrying provisions, they were
hungry and looked it. I treated them to a generous
[796] breakfast and my reward was the information which
they volunteered concerning one of their festivals, connected with the gathering of the fruit of the sahuaro, the giant cactus. It was to take place the next day at a rancheria called Noria, situated in the Comobabi Mountains at no great distance, and I decided to go there.

Opportunely for my journey, in the evening of July 4 unusually heavy rain fell during forty-five minutes, the storm making short work of my tent which I decided to leave behind here on account of its being so large and inconvenient. Nearly an inch of rain must have fallen, bringing about in this brief space of time a remarkable change in the appearance of the landscape. The dry creek ran with water and the playa below was changed into a shallow lake, the frogs filling the air with their loud,

here also bees deposit their honey and bats make their 137
homes. Sometimes rabbits attack the stem to get at the juicy pulp.

To the Indians the sahuaro is invaluable, and by 222
tacit understanding they consider it a crime to cut one down. The grateful fruit comes at a time when most needed, and the Indians leave their habitations to camp among the sahuaro as long as the season lasts. Not only does the fruit then furnish them with their principal means of subsistence, but the greater part is boiled down [252
to a sirup for future consumption in the winter, serving 273]
also as material for an intoxicating drink, which is used at the sahuaro festival. The seeds, too, are eaten after having first been ground on the metate, and they taste better than would be expected; the Indians also feed their fowls with them and many sackfuls are brought back to the houses after the sahuaro harvest. The wooden skeletons or ribs of the sahuaro furnish the Papago with light, [342]
strong, and elastic building stuff, and from the same material he makes the long stick which is needed to bring the fruit down from its lofty elevation, coloring the pole red with the juice of the fruit. Also chicken coops, chairs, [322]
traps, and similar articles of the household are manufactured from sahuaro ribs. Even the wooden tissue bags [415]
produced by the woodpeckers are made to serve as water bottles or drinking vessels.

So important a part does this cactus play in the life [805]
of the Papago that their year begins with the sahuaro harvest. The season lasts from the middle of June till 222
the middle of July. Every rancheria is supposed to make 796

222 a feast for the occasion, which will insure rain and good
● 796 crops. An essential part of the festival is the drinking
of wine, produced by mixing the sahuaro sirup in a certain
[273] proportion with water and allowing this to ferment.
The name of this greatest festival of the year is *naváita*,
derived from *návait*, their word for the wine.

Elder Brother, so their tradition runs, created the
222 sahuaro by placing beads of his perspiration in the
773 ground. He walked in ceremonial circuits around it for four days, and the plant began to give fruit. He also made a jar in which he put the juice of the fruit which he mixed with water. "Let us see if we can not make rain with this to refresh the thirsty soil," he said to the jar. And its contents became wine, and it began to rain, as he thought it would. Therefore, to this day, the Papago make sahuaro wine and celebrate a great feast in accordance with Elder Brother's commandments. The wine was given by him in order that they might get drunk, and then rain would follow.

On our arrival at the rancheria of Noria we learned
796 that the wine making had been started that morning. The festival was to begin in the evening, the singing and dancing lasting as usual for two nights, by the end of which time the wine would be ready for consumption. An hour after dark, as we were preparing our supper, a loud Indian voice from the other side of the arroyo on which we were camped sounded forth in the dark, still night, inviting people to gather for the festival. Standing in front of the medicine lodge, facing the east, the herald announced over and over again: "Darkness has

● 796 already covered us a good while, it is now time to begin to sing and dance, and everybody bring tobacco."

We had three Indian guests at our meal, and afterward we all went over to the dancing place, or, as the Indians call it, the singing place (*njúikot; njúi*, sing), a level piece of ground always found in front of the medicine lodge. In the dim light a long string of eagle plumes hanging across the space between two upright poles from east to west could be discerned. Near the western pole a solitary fire was burning; two medicine-men were sitting there with their backs turned toward it and facing the east. Behind the fire, in the west, was the lodge, and in front of this stood a jacal, the light shed invariably seen near the dwelling or lodge. 789 They sat there immovable in mystic contemplation of rock crystals and queer objects which were spread before them on the ground, and by the aid of which rain is procured; among them, my informant said, was a small stone, translucent and bright, which few have seen. If rain is not near, the stone is very warm and has to be cooled and purified, an operation which the medicine men were about to undertake.

My attention was next attracted to a long basket of enormous proportions placed between east and west on the ground at the foot of the western pole, near the doctors. It was of the same oblong shape as the ordinary medicine basket of so many tribes, and serves as a receptacle for the sacred paraphernalia of the lodge. Here the string of eagle feathers hanging near by is kept during the year. It is provided with a cover of the same

796 material, considered by the Indians as its blanket, which, when the basket is in use, is placed on the ground for it to "sit" on.

Around these holy men and the fire and the long string of plumes that stretched across, danced men and women, holding each other by the hand and moving around in a circle. They marched in time, with firm steps, placing left foot behind right, and proceeding in this way against the sun's apparent movement. They all sang in
[534] unison and in time with their steps, the leader swinging a rattle, and he and those nearest to him exerting their lungs to their fullest capacity. There were always two or three walking ahead of him, as everybody was eager to
[533] be near the leader in order to catch the tune. In this advance guard there was also a female leader, a soprano. What a wealth of songs there is among these Indians! During the two nights new songs were presented all the time, not only new texts but even new, though somewhat similar, melodies. People were sitting or lying around the circle of dancers, stepping into it whenever their fancy moved them.

When four songs had been sung, taking about an
[276] hour, a short pause was made, and the performers would sit down, many of them smoking. After a few minutes, only the leader would rise, and, standing in front of the jacal with his face toward the east, he would sing one verse of the song they were going to take up next, this time in a low voice, just to refresh their memories. Then he would step forward, dancing again and bursting forth into loud singing, immediately joined by the multitude in

their enthusiastic efforts to make an impression on the 796
gods.

The next morning, when I went to inspect the place in daylight, I found the leader and other functionaries sleeping peacefully on the ground under the jacal in front
of the lodge, tired from their exertions of the night. I 273
was permitted to enter the lodge, where large earthenware jars were standing full to overflowing with the precious sahuaro fluid. A slight cavity had been dug in the ground for each jar, serving as a receptacle and covered with branches of greasewood upon which the jar rested neatly. The reason for this arrangement, according to the Indians, was to keep the fluid warm and because they had always done it in this way. Heavy spume was rising from most of the jars, showing that fermentation was taking place. A fire was kept up in the lodge in order that the temperature of the air should be even and favorable for fermentation. The solemn function of mixing the sahuaro sirup with water takes place in the morning hours under the jacal outside.

The lodge was a circular, dome-shaped grass hut, the 344
ancient form of Papago habitation, examples of which are still frequently seen in the central part of the Papagueria. The lodge, however, is larger than the dwelling-house, hence its name Kúki, "Big House." (*Ku*, big,
large.) This was rather a small one, twelve feet in di- [356]
ameter and six feet high, and scrupulously clean inside. The framework of these primitive houses consists of mezquite posts; from two to four forked uprights in the middle support the dome-shaped roof, which is made of sa-

778 said, and they were not in a position to show me; perhaps the makai (medicine-men), who were coming tonight to tell when the rain would arrive, would show me. But to see those things was a risky affair, connected with possibilities of harm to the beholder. As we were returning to camp Pablo said to me: "Probably those Indians never before spoke like that to a white man."

● 796 The rest of the day was spent in a house to house canvass and many baskets were bought. In the evening Pablo and I again walked over to see the dancing which had commenced anew at dusk. He soon joined the dancers and evidently the "old Adam" reasserted itself within him, for he danced with fervor the whole night.

As one sees everything better by taking part oneself in the proceedings, I, too, broke into the circle, grabbing those next to me by the hand. The orthodox way is to [516] [535] intertwine the fingers as one may see sailors do when they are ashore, or peasant girls of Norway when going to a dance in their finery. My white dress made me a conspicuous object in the dark night, and my dancing and singing evoked merriment among those sitting around. There was no difficulty in getting into the right tune, and my partners on either side, as well as the rest of those actively engaged, were too serious about their work to be distracted.

Just about the time that I entered into the performance, the medicine-men who were sitting with their legs crossed in front of the fire began to show activity. One of them suddenly bent forward and put his mouth near the sacred translucent stone that was lying before him; 796 then he began to breathe forcibly and to blow over it, emitting at the same time a peculiar sound, which made it difficult for me to refrain from laughing. The stone, which had become warm through the long drought, was now being cooled and cleaned that it might attract rain. For fully ten minutes he remained thus at work; then both medicine men stood up and, holding eagle plumes in their hands, began to run around inside our circle, all the time thrusting the plumes upward toward the sky to draw rain-clouds. It is curious to reflect that Indians as intelligent as the Papago should so absolutely believe in the power of the medicine-men to make rain. In regard to man's relations to nature, the Indians have, since the discovery of America, learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and it will take many centuries to change their mode of thinking.

After an hour's dancing I went alone to my camp 000 where my sleeping cot was awaiting me. It is a folding one and, when put up, stands high above the ground, which is convenient both in case of moisture of the ground and as a precaution against noxious creatures, such as scorpions, etc. The moon was shining, the night was warm, and I went to sleep under the open sky, as my custom is in this climate, rejoicing at the feeling of security one has while among Indians who have not been too much with whites. I must have been sleeping quite a while when I was awakened by the violent barking of my dog. On opening my eyes I beheld the disagreeable sight of a tall, half-nude Indian standing beside me in

000 the moonlight. "*Compañero,*" he said, ejaculating a few
more words in unintelligible Spanish, at the same time
thrusting forward a big open bottle with bright red con-
tents, the smell of which at once made me aware of the
[576] situation. He was offering me sahuaro wine as a proof
of his esteem. But he might have chosen a more reason-
able hour for his hospitality, so I bluntly answered: "No;
I will have nothing until I get up." He disappeared
among the bushes as quietly as he had come; in fact, he
did not give me time to ascertain what had become of
him, and it seemed like an unpleasant dream. However,
being desirous of getting some rest before the ceremonies
that were sure to take place at sunrise, I fell asleep again
after a while.

796 The wine did not mature as early as expected, and in
the morning one of the principal men told the people to
[805] gather when the sun would be half-way between noon
and sunset, when the culmination of the feast would take
place. One of the Indians confided to me that the people
thought I was all right; I danced with the proper step!
Gradually crowds began to assemble, many of the young
men on horseback; slender of figure but above medium
height, they were of prepossessing appearance, sitting
erect and following well the movements of the horse.
[177] Everybody was in his best attire, all adopted from the
whites, and everybody, both men and women, looked
clean. But there was no hurry about anything. After
a few hours passed in this way, the Keeper of the Smoke,
who was the general manager of all the proceedings, was
seen to spread out blankets and mats on the dancing

796 place, at each of the four corners of the world, to use the Indian expression. The principal men seated themselves on the mats toward north and south; the two medicine-men sat down on the eastern mat, and the Keeper of the Smoke on the western.

The multitude surged forward and took their seats, on the ground, I among them, all forming an imposing [823] square that symbolized the four corners of the world, each of the four mats in that way remaining in the middle of a line of the square. Hardly had we seated ourselves before the vessels containing the wine were brought inside of the square from the lodge by four young men, each one carrying a vessel. This wine should have been carried in those large, beautiful, water-tight baskets of native workmanship, but, alas, there was only one of those, an indication of the declining days of the tribe. The remainder of the receptacles were replaced by three inappropriate looking buckets bought in the white man's store, more practical, to be sure, but infinitely more ugly than those superb baskets decorated with artistic designs. The young men went straight across the dancing place to the two medicine men in the east, who immediately set to work to bless the contents, driving out any evil spirit that the vessels might contain. This they accomplished by making slow strokes with the palms of the hands around the vessels from in front back toward themselves. They also sacrificed a little of the contents to the gods, dipping their hands into the liquor and throwing some of it about. It was done in a desultory fashion, showing, as one man explained to me, that they

796 did not know their business well. The tribe, as I have already said, is daily losing its ancient beliefs and customs.

The distribution now began. The young men went in pairs, stopping before every one in his turn; each of the two would dip a gourd into the wine and hand it over. The recipient would, before drinking, lift it up toward the young man, saying: "*Návatsh!*" (friend!); if he were a relative, he would address him by the name of the relationship. It was evident from the beaming smile on the faces of those who drank that the wine awoke much satisfaction. My turn also came and I must confess that in this dry and hot climate, the beverage, when well made, and coming cool from the jars, does not taste at all bad, though I soon grew tired of it.

Four times in this manner had the young men made the rounds of the square, offering the wine quickly and with much precision, when two old men appeared on the scene. They advanced from the lodge, holding each other by the hand, fingers intertwined, and, beginning at the east, went in turn to each of the different mats where [773] the principal men were sitting. The mat is called *váaki*, which connects us with the mythical long ago when the hunter put up a small round house of that name near water, in which he stayed during the heat of the day. At each corner of the world is a váaki or hunter's lodge. [551] At each such "house" a long speech was made by one of the two old men, whose name was "Mocking Bird Talk." Addressing the most important man on the mat by his degree of relationship, or as a friend, as the case might be, he tells him ~~to~~ look for a white, shining house in the east, from where black clouds come. "The black clouds have many inclinations in different directions and we can, by our singing, turn them toward us and influence the winds to make this poor earth moist" he says. Then he asks for a song, and in response the group sitting on that mat sings about rain. After having in the same way solicited songs from the rest of the groups, seated at the cardinal points, and received immediate and enthusiastic answers by invariably well-executed songs, the old men return to the lodge. 796

They immediately, however, come back for a similar round of visits, the speaker this time asking for an expression of friendship for himself. Every one answers "friend!" or gives him his degree of relationship. Next, the groups on the four mats sing in turn and, after that, wine is again offered around four times. 572

The pair of old men reappear and the speaker again admonishes those on the mats to look for the shining house in the east, where the black clouds are. A wonderful cloud reaches up to heaven and in it lives the mocking-bird. He comes out, jumps around, puts his head back and talks. "Through your strength," he says, addressing the mocking-bird as if present, "come all the clouds that are, all the winds that are, all the lightning, all the thunder. From all the mountains spring up other clouds joining the rest. It matters not how wide the earth is, the clouds touch all the sides. It matters not how many sierras there are, the clouds cover them all. It matters not how many arroyos there are side by side, the clouds cut across them; nor does it [825]

796 matter how many small arroyos there are, the clouds cover them all. When the rain comes down, the flood carries along the sand and the loose trunks and the sticks and fallen branches, piling it all up. The clouds and the winds get up and stop in the west, whence the rain spreads over this poor earth. When shall we see this again?" The speech was briefly answered at each mat, and from either side the friendship which they all felt for each other was emphasized. The singing was quite enjoyable and there was a pleasing atmosphere of antiquity about the proceedings. Finally, the chief arose to make a speech in which he warned every one to behave properly while partaking of the wine which had been brewed in the houses.

The official part of the festival now being over, people repaired to the houses, where the sahuaro wine flowed through the evening and night. Friends from the neighboring country added to the merriment. Both men and women become intoxicated on such occasions, and, formerly, quarrels of long standing were settled at the feast according to the laws of the vendetta. Murder used to [622] be of frequent occurrence, but, to prevent the possibility of quarrels ending in a fatal way, the chiefs of our time are wise enough to gather up beforehand all the knives, pistols, and rifles, returning them to the owners after the conclusion of the festival.

222 It should be noted that in March, about the time of the equinox, a ceremony, accompanied by singing, is performed to insure a good sahuaro harvest. Seeds of the fruit are ground and put in a basket into which also

200 cepted. He immediately commenced to move his things
343 out so as to give space enough for my cot. The tiny
house had a good roof of greasewood branches covered
with earth. A few yards in front of the door-opening,
toward the west, was the usual arrangement of a jacal
that provided a grateful shade. The Indians had arrived
[531] here only the day before, and the old man had
decorated the door-posts with fresh greasewood branches,
which gave the modest habitation a festive and cheerful
appearance. I felt comfortable in my new quarters, and
prepared to stay here for several weeks.

124 Among the friends I gradually made was one whose
civilized name was Simon, who became of great service
in helping me to get specimens and information from the
Indians. He made a good beginning himself by selling
[292] me his clown's outfit, more or less complete, an unexpected
●796 discovery in these days when advancing civilization
is destroying all the sacred emblems, customs, and
beliefs of the natives. These were implements used at
the great harvest feast, *víkita*, which is given every four
years at Santa Rosa. The name is derived from the
word *víiki*, by which is designated the finest and smallest
plumes of the vulture.* Manifold preparations are
made for the event, which comes off in the "inner bone"
moon, about November or December, after the harvesting
of corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons. The participants
dress up and practise their parts in a large,
open, square enclosure of brushwood fences, where
afterward many ceremonial objects which were carried
about during the festivities are left. I was told that

● 796 sahuaro wine is not used during or after this great festival.
796 At Quitovac, in Sonora, an annual harvest feast,
536 called by the same name, is given in August; this is
accompanied by the drinking of sahuaro wine.

As the name indicates, the clowns are the funny men of the occasion, and their apparel and weapons are in accordance with their functions. Their bows are crooked mezquite roots with strings attached. Their ridiculous-looking arrows, four for each, are made from sahuaro ribs, with turkey feathers as the plumed part; like the hunter, the clown has two kinds, but his are out of proportion, three being thin and one very stout. His bracelet may be a piece of unborn deerskin wrapped around
796 the wrist. The most striking part of the costume is
536 the mask, which is made of canvas, like a hood that is
532 drawn over the head; formerly perhaps basket work took the place, at least in parts, of the canvas. Small holes for the eyes have been pierced in it and the top is adorned with a large bunch of plumes from the turkey, hawk, and a black sea-bird. "Horns" made of turkey plumes are attached to the sides, soft down from a hawk being tied to the top. The decorations on the facial part of
796 the mask symbolize clouds. Under the clown's belt is
536 tucked a wooden machete, and large strings of sea-shells run over the shoulders across the chest and back. He wears a huge tobacco-pouch and carries a sahuaro pole on which small greasewood sticks, tied at right angles, do duty as hooks.

796 His[1] bare arms, as well as his arrows, are decorated
301 each with a spiral line made with chalk and encircling
536

[1] [i.e., the clown's.—Analyst]

796 lengthwise, while his legs are daubed in spots, the color
301 being afterward allowed to wear off. At the feast, the
536 numerous clowns perform pranks everywhere; they visit
796 the houses, offer food, and shoot at men disguised as
536 deer. During the dancing they keep in the middle of
the dancing place. They neither sing nor talk, though
[755] they may do so if requested. If a clown breathes on a
sick man, the latter gets well. The mask when not used
is kept in the house of the owner, usually in a covered
earthen-ware jar. The dignity of the office, which does
not imply the necessity of being a medicine-man, is confined
to certain families, the father deciding which of
his sons is to be the next clown.

796 On the wall in my lodging-room there was hanging
a different kind of mask, neatly made from a gourd, and
532 painted. It is worn by a singer at the same great feast.
I also secured this, and during the time spent at Santa
Rosa valley I was fortunate enough to make quite a collection
of such interesting objects. There are three sections
of colors on the singers' masks symbolizing clouds
of similar hues. The upper part is painted with red
[326] ochre; then comes a black band which is produced by
a mixture of sap from the mezquite and oxide of iron;
the white band is made with chalk. The zigzags of the
red section symbolize clouds, the dots are grains of corn.
The designs on the white section denote clouds and lightning.
796 The singers (*viinim*) have the same kind of rattles
534 as the clowns, consisting of a number of the small
bags spun by an insect (*attacus orizaba*), with a pebble
inside of each, and attached to a band around the ankle.

The band should be cut from the skin of a black 796
dog, which is killed for the purpose in the practising 534
enclosure.

The singer has the upper body nude, his trousers 796
being turned up as high as possible and his feet bare. 533
He wears no head-dress, but attempts to appear neatly 301
attired, tying around the loins a colored bandanna or perhaps a shawl borrowed from his wife. Around the waist, the neck, and the upper part of the arm bright-colored strips of cloth are tied. His body is smeared with red ochre on which are spots of white, symbolizing grains of corn.

An important part of the singer's outfit is the bull- 796
roarer, consisting of two flat pieces made of sahuaro 534
rib, the smaller one being held by the hand when in use. The connecting string should be twine of native cotton, which still may be found in use. They are decorated with symbolic designs, such as those standing for lightning, clouds, turtles, grains of corn, expressing their desire for rain. The buzzing sound produced should be deep, in imitation of the thunder, which brings rain; if the sound is shrill, lightning only will follow.

The bull-roarer is swung for the purpose of calling [202]
people together and as a sign that the meeting is over, both at the preliminary exercises in the practising enclosure as well as at the feast itself. These buzzing implements not only open and conclude the proceedings, but they are used on the way from the practising house to the feast early in the morning, also when the cloud

796 symbols are carried about, and on similar occasions.
534 When not in use, the implement is tucked under the belt at the back. After the festival it is put away not to be used until the next feast takes place.

796 The singers are made up of the following four groups:
533 1. The people of Santa Rosa rancheria. Sikulhímat, Alóitak, and Kvítatk join with them.

2. The people of Kvívo rancheria. The San Xavier inhabitants join with these.

3. The people of Ánekam rancheria.

4. The people of Áktjin rancheria.

These four groups have different masks and at the head-quarters of each is a practising enclosure.

796 This great harvest festival lasts from morning till sunset. Ten days before the principal men begin the preparations, fasting at the same time and drinking water but once a day. Sometimes as many as fifty rancherias take part. Much noise is made in the evening before the feast is begun. Each group of rancherias sings different songs, in its turn, and every fourth year new songs are produced. At the Quitovac meeting the same songs are used year after year. The singers also dance with ceremonial objects in their hands, their songs being suited to the emblem carried.

796 Mr. Brownell, store-keeper and mine-owner at Brown-
178 ell, in the Quijotoa Range, was present at the last festival given, which was in December, 1908. Though unable to give me any descriptive detail, he assured me that it was an unusual performance in its magnitude and barbarous display of costume, paint, and ceremonials. A

796 few other Americans had been present, but nobody was
178 allowed to make any notes. Permission to take photographs would not be considered without a payment of six hundred dollars. It is doubtful whether a similar festival will ever take place again, for there are only one, or possibly two, old men left who know how to direct the complicated ceremonies. Formerly, the complaint was made to me, the young men used to be taught by the two old men, but at present nobody goes to them. If another festival does take place, it would be highly desirable for an ethnologist to be present. I visited the practising enclosure, which is from forty to fifty feet square. A great accumulation of ceremonial things was left here from preceding feasts, conspicuous among which were some large, triangular frames to which wads of cotton were attached, symbolizing clouds. Bright blue, wooden swallows, fastened to the tops of sticks, also attracted my attention. They are carried by certain performers. The enclosure is called a váaki, as is also the medicine lodge and the house of the leader of the salt expeditions.

I was successful enough to procure two more clown masks, the owners of both being medicine-men. One of them, who was too old to be a clown any longer, should have handed it over to his son or nephew, but he preferred American dollars. I was further completing my collection with sets of the various articles that comprise the outfit, when my nefarious activities reached the ears of the principal men, who at once put a stop to any more purchases. "What are we coming to," cried the chief,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 178 "selling these things? Are we not going to have any more feasts?" There was some talk of having me return what I had bought, but the storm of indignation gradually subsided.

273 men seated on the ground under the jacal in front of Juan's hut and facing the east began these operations. The sweet stuff was first poured into a large and deep water-tight basket, with symbolic designs in the weaving, one placed before each young man. Water was poured into this, in the proportion of two-thirds to a third part; sometimes half and half is used. The operators, who had their shirt sleeves turned up to the elbow, mixed according to rules and regulations. Slowly stretching their hands, palm down and forward, over the fluid, they would immerse them and draw them along the bottom toward themselves, then rubbing the hands twice against each other over the fluid. This was repeated several times. As a change they sometimes dipped them into the liquid, lifted up what the two hollows of the hands would hold, and rubbed it into foam, continuing rubbing until the foam disappeared. An elderly man then tasted the mixture, carried the basket into the house, and emptied it into one of the big jars. This procedure of mixing lasted nearly four hours. In the same way the brewing of the much esteemed wine was commenced that day not only in the Big House, but in many of the private dwellings of the great rancheria. Usually several families unite forces at one house and, when the official feast of two days is over at the lodge, people gather at the houses to drink and get drunk.

●796 Shortly after sunset that day, the loud voice of the
202 herald who calls the meeting to order, sounded from the lodge. His exhortations lasted several minutes, and although I at a distance could not distinguish the words,

●796 I have no doubt that his voice, which rang clear
202 in the quiet night, carried over the entire rancheria.
What he was saying was, of course, known to everybody; hearing the call was enough to summon them for
the important event. People were slow in assembling
796 and the dancing began late. The long string of eagle plumes over the dancing place, that had been a prominent feature in the arrangement at the former sahuaro feast in which I took part, was missing here. During an accidental fire in the house of the keeper with the ominous name, the sacred emblem had literally gone up in smoke. A band of medicine-men, some of them called from a considerable distance, were making up for the defect. There were four of them inside the circle, walking around in a row, moving their plumes and invoking the rain. At times they would dance about like children gesticulating wildly with their plumes. Two of them wore cast-off garments of whites, and one in a long, smart-looking mackintosh, looked especially ludicrous, cutting extraordinary capers to induce the rain to come.

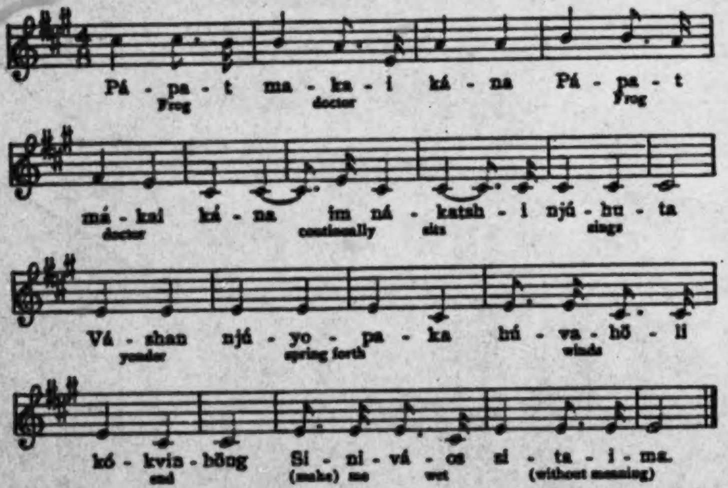
The dancing and singing were on a much larger scale than at the feast I had previously attended, as befitted such an important locality as the Santa Rosa. The leading singers, as well as a few of the others in the circle of about a hundred dancing and singing men and women, had astonishingly powerful voices. There was an atmosphere of order and sincerity and devotion among the participants. Very noticeable was a woman leader, who walked next to the man who, swinging his rattle and singing, leads the whole procession. She had

●796 an extraordinary soprano that would have done credit anywhere, untutored to be sure, but rich, sonorous, and of great force. She was the wife of the Keeper of the Smoke, and had a married granddaughter!

796 533 For about an hour I danced and sang, making my way in among the leaders. Their singing was almost

THE "FROG DOCTOR"

A PAPAGO RAIN SONG HEARD AT THE SAHUARO FEASTS


Pá - pa - t ma - ka - i ká - na Pá - pa - t
Frog doctor Frog
má - kai ká - na im ná - katsh - i njú - hu - ta
doctor continually sits sings
Vá - shan njú - yo - pa - ka hú - va - hö - li
yonder spring forth winds
kó - kvin - bŏng Si - ni - vá - os si - ta - i - ma.
and (make) me wet (without meaning)

[825] The frog is thought to possess powers of a medicine-man (makai). Being connected with water he is, according to Indian belief, able to influence the coming of rain and is therefore implored to assist in bringing moisture to the earth.

deafening, and after a while I walked home to my camp, enjoying the singing better at the distance of a mile. The next night, near my bed time, it sounded especially well; they were singing the "Frog Doctor," a song about rain and moisture that I had learned, and which has the distinction of being in the major key. I could

796● 533 follow the words at that distance. In their enthusiasm they seemed to be trying to wring the rain from the gods, and above them all could be heard that wonderful soprano. Every time a new stanza came around, they intoned as is their custom the first words with all the power of their lungs, giving the singing a triumphant expression.

796 273 During the two nights of singing and ceremonies, the wine was getting ready for consumption on the third day, at which time people gathered outside the lodge to the number of some five hundred, including many who had not taken part in the exercises. Many came to drink wine at the houses of their friends and relatives, and had been invited from such distant places as Florence on the Gila River and San Pedro in Sonora, everybody first having been present at the distributing of the wine at the lodge.

[526] Young boys on horseback had been in evidence in the morning, racing joyously with each other and raising dust wherever they went. Some of them were prematurely under the influence of liquor, the result of the inroads of civilization. It is characteristic of the primitive Indian to be strict and formal in his religious observances, but after the festival, when the gods have had their share, he, too, wants a good time and takes it. The rising generation, breaking away from their native customs, make no such fine distinction.

796 484 People came on horseback or in wagons, some of them in light carriages; one well-to-do Indian from the northern part of Baboquivari arrived in quite a

796 smart turnout with two white horses and had a well-fed
484 dog running alongside. He wore spectacles and brought
[416] his family with him. It was a curious assemblage in
the desert. There was as yet no shouting to be heard or any other noise than that of wagons rolling and horses galloping over the sandy ground, but the scene was one of bustling activity that reminded one of a race-track meeting.

796 The ceremonies began at noon and only a minority of those present could sit down on the dancing place and take an active part; most of them had to be spectators, standing or sitting on their horses around the square of human rows. Beyond these, wagons had been drawn up which were filled with standing spectators. The chief passed me in the throng and said he was glad to see me at the feast. He hoped I would make the most of it and see everything; I thought he might have invited me to take a seat among those on the "ground floor." However, any one who liked was free to do so if he were able to squeeze himself in. As it was, I preferred to be where I stood.

796 People were in their very best finery, and some of
the women were a sight to behold in gaudy colors, not
292 exactly the cheapest stuff, for the present-day Papago is well-to-do and wants the best, although he does not want to pay high prices. The most conspicuous dresses seemed to be made from mercerized silk, very thin, and were fair copies of the prevailing fashions among white women in town or on the ranch. The Papago woman is clever and cuts her clothes herself, sewing

them on the machine, which she owns or borrows from 796
her more fortunate sisters. Petticoats are considered 292
less necessary. At Juan's ranch, on which was my camp, the women folks had been working for two days to get their dresses ready for this occasion. Until midnight [294]
the running of the sewing machine could be heard from the little house I had at first occupied.

The ceremonies and speeches proceeded in the same 796
manner as those I had witnessed before. The wine was 273
distributed only to the fortunate ones seated in the square, and there was not much of it either. After an hour the whole affair was over and people dispersed to the different houses, where the brew of the season was awaiting them. To be present at the revelries which followed was not pleasant. It was a good-tempered crowd, but drunken people are nuisances, whether in civilization or among barbarians. However, if anything, there is some excuse for a barbarian to get drunk, for he thinks it is the will of the gods, and that it helps to bring about rain. Moreover, his native intoxicant, indulged in only on certain religious occasions, does not do him much physical harm.

There were some ludicrous sights to behold, mingled with pathetic. Two women on the point of starting for home were seated in a wagon, both visibly under the influence of the sahuaro wine. They were conversing and weeping in their effusive feelings for each other, while a suckling infant at the breast of one of them was adding to the wail from a quite different sentiment. A thick-set, resolute woman with a nice face, an acquaint-

796 273 ance of mine from Ánekam, took charge of her drunken husband, trying to get a start for home. The board that closes the hind part of the wagon had been taken out, as if ready for loading; she invoked the help of a sober-looking young fellow and, with their combined efforts, the heavy bulk of her husband was landed safely in the wagon. The young man next, in a most informal way, helped the corpulent lady herself to climb up by grabbing hold of one of her legs and shoving her upwards with all his might, as if she were a log.

600 It became necessary for me to begin my return journey to Tucson, and I proceeded first to a rancheria, which is in close proximity to Santa Rosa. I had learned that an old man who had given me valuable information at San Xavier was living here, and I desired to see him again. He turned out to be the most influential person there and was very kind. True, he accepted an unusual amount of presents in the shape of provisions, tobacco, etc., but his good-will was well worth the price. The people were encouraged by him to sell me what I wanted and there was no loss of time from having to coax and wait or having to dispel suspicions and fear. Everybody was obliging and glad to sell. Some went to the practising enclosure of the place and rifled it of anything I might desire and they all searched their houses. It was as if I had come to a primitive tribe in Australia. I secured good masks and a complete clown's outfit, the best so far, including a pouch in which tobacco and medicine plumes are carried.

At my request a man was sent to Ánekam to try to

[pp. 127-146 not processed]

796 It appears that a feast at which sahuaro wine was drunk was dependent at Caborca on the killing of the mule-deer (called by the Mexicans *buro*). At the dance which was executed in a different manner from that of the ordinary sahuaro festival, the men carried arrows, and the singing was accompanied by the medicine-man's rasping sticks. The same kind of festival is probably still in use among Indians west of the Altar River.

153 The Indians at this place show the usual intelligence
181 of their tribe. One young man who had been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet by an American in Quitovac, taught himself how to read. He did not read fluently, but had almost mastered the art. Few of the Indians here can, however, be depended upon for work, as they are demoralized by the mescal brandy. They seem to employ their time between earning money and getting drunk therewith. They are no longer able to keep up their native feasts and are rapidly disappearing into the body of Mexican laborers. The same is the case with the remnants of Papagoes who live in the rest of the towns or settlements along the Altar River.

000 My plan had been to fit out my expedition here, but the difficulty I experienced in trying to secure riding and pack animals, not to speak of men of the right sort, decided me to continue the journey by wagon. All traffic
[484] here is by wagon, and it is easy to proceed by this mode of transportation as far as Quitovac and Sonoita, two settlements of Mexicans with considerable Indian populations in the farthest inhabitable western part of the District of Altar. Even a wagon proved difficult to

823 [411] The weapons mentioned in this story[1] were probably made from obsidian which still serves as material for the making of arrow-points for ceremonial use. The obsidian is worked with a bone.

178 181 My camp was on the small plain on which the medicine lodge is situated, near an unusually well-grown mezquite tree, the shade of which is enjoyed by participants in the feasts that are given. In the evening spent here I could hear talking from the medicine lodge, but the old man, Miguel, who is in charge, complained much of the indifference of his countrymen, the younger generation never coming any more to the counsel house. The Indians here, in fact, are much spoiled by Mexicans and mescal brandy, and present to-day little of interest to the investigator. The same remark applies to the Indians of Sonoita, though in a lesser degree. A few, just a few, of the Mexicans exploit the Indians for their own purposes. It happens even that they ingratiate themselves by giving good advice—good for their own pockets—charging the confiding Indian for the advice. On the other hand, it must be said that the Papagoes of Sonora are in general treated with much more consideration than in Arizona. The Mexicans look upon them more as their equals, and the result is that the so-called civilized Indian is noticeably more polite in his manners in Sonora than in Arizona.

● 796 The great annual harvest feast for which Quitovac is famous, and to which people congregate from all parts of the Papagueria, is still kept up. It is performed in the month of August on a stretch of level ground half a mile

[1] [of the origin of the whiteness of a mesa. -Analyst]

distant from the lodge. Mexicans who have seen it describe it as a gorgeous affair. Its first object is rain, and then the preservation of good relations with Íitoi, Elder Brother and Creator. The sacred paraphernalia are afterward put away in some distant cave. The feast is already on the decline and as soon as the old man in charge at present dies, it will no doubt pass into oblivion.

[pp. 174-205 not processed]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

000 nicer disposition than Pedro, in an emergency I think I
should rather trust myself to the brutal sagacity of the
latter.

181 Judging from these two and from a third one, Agustin,
184 that I knew, the sand people were not a pleasant lot to
deal with. They were rapacious and probably merciless
to strangers, whether Indians or Mexicans. Agustin was
a distant, disagreeable kind of a man, whose confidence
it would take years to win. According to Mexican accounts,
[579] the areneños formerly made the roads dangerous
to pass, and nobody could follow them into the sand dunes
to their principal retreat at Pinacate.

[101] These Papagoes were called Híatit Óotam, "sand
184 people." According to my companion, the medicine-man
Pancho, who spent his early life in the dunes, they were
not many in number and used to travel all together.
[164] He asserted that a peculiar disease accompanied by the
vomiting of "yellow and green and then blood" killed
most of those natives, and thought that it was brought
from Yuma. The course of the disease took from four to
ten days. It probably is the same affliction that is mentioned
on the Papago calendar stick (page 74) as having
occurred in 1851. The remaining four families decided
to retire to other parts and for the last forty or fifty years
[161] the sand dune country has been uninhabited. These
natives probably never exceeded in number one hundred
and fifty all told, and their head-quarters were at *Hótunikat*
(sunset), south of Pinacate. The great annual feast,
● 796 now given at Quitovac, was removed from the Pinacate
184 region before my informant's time—thus at least over

184 seventy years ago—because the old men who had charge
●796 of the ceremonial objects of the feast had died, and it
was decided that the latter should be taken care of at
Quitovac.

184 These sand people were intelligent, healthy, and able-bodied,
221 and managed to make a good living in an absolute
[147] desert. Their existence depended upon the knowledge
224 of the few places in the mountain ranges, not even
[312] one in each range, where rain fills the tinajas, as well as
of the few places along the coast where water can be found by digging for it. Once where to look for water is known, the difficulties in making a living out there are not so great as one would expect. In hot weather they followed jack-rabbits in the loose sand until the latter were exhausted, and caught muskrats by burning the accumulations of cactus spines with which those animals keep enemies away from their burrows. They also killed mountain-sheep, which were not a difficult quarry, with their bows and arrows, especially in the large craters, and they were even able to approach mule-deer and antelope near enough to kill them by the same weapon. Lizards were eaten. At certain seasons they went to the coast for the fishing, catching as many fish as they wished.

184 A single agricultural site may be attributed to the
241 sand people, called Súvuk, south-east of Tinajas de
Emilia, in Pinacate. Maize, squashes, and beans were planted here by means of a stick, on a very small scale, but the majority of these people had no agriculture whatever.
184 They found good edible plant food in the dunes,
222 especially *ammobroma sonoræ*, the wonderful camotes

727 783 vide them with water and food, of which they partook sparingly. Meat and salt were forbidden. He would come by night and they would smoke tobacco together. The first night was spent in dancing. After sixteen days' seclusion in this manner, the feast would come off, but the dieting and abstention on the part of the slayers lasted sixteen days more. If a man had killed an Apache before, he did not need to go so far away from the house or be so rigorous in his diet as the inexperienced young man.

702 796 536 Sham battles used to be a prominent feature in the social life of the Papago. The last one was given five years previous to my visit to Ánekam in the Santa Rosa valley and there was some talk of having one again in the near future. In these sham battles dummies of straw are placed in the mountains, sometimes at a distance of a two days' excursion. In the evenings before the attack the men sit for a while in a large circle, their weapons lying in the centre, but they soon disperse around the different fires to sleep, while some of them watch. Somebody goes ahead and makes a big fire near the dummies, and the attack begins at dawn. Four men have been chosen to kill the dummies, only one, who leads, carrying a shield; they all have feathers attached to their hats or to specially made leather caps.

On their return there is dancing for four nights and singing; the dancing is similar to that of the sahuaro feast. Some of the men, who are well paid by general contributions, play the part of those who kill Apaches, imitating their actions; one of them carries a shield and

the rest have ordinary weapons. The four who killed 702
the dummies keep away from the dancing place until 796 536
the last night. They fast, and must not drink water.
Pits are made in the ground, a hundred yards or more
away, which are a foot deep and wide enough to hold
a man sitting with legs crossed. Here the four warriors
have to sit immovable during the whole night, holding
the scalps of the supposed Apaches, and care being taken
that they do not face either the sun or the moon. Special
songs are sung for these men. One man looks after
them, and they are under so much restriction that they
cannot scratch their heads or any part of their body
with their hands, but have to apply a small greasewood
twig if the necessity arises. Their wives, who also fast,
sit in pits behind their husbands. After the dance is
over the four men still have to keep up the taboo and
dieting four days longer; then they bathe, and when
they go to sleep many songs come to them in their
dreams. Among the Pimas, when the warrior had killed
an Apache, his wife made a tray, with a large svastika
design interwoven.

The primitive condition of Papago society is giving 578
way to the new, but not without a jar. In old times in the
house of a prominent man, with his four or five wives,
no quarrels would arise. When his household was increased
by the additional families of his sons who, according
to ancient custom, made their homes with him, the
serene atmosphere continued; there was no question of
mother-in-law, or other disturbing factors, in their nicely
adjusted relations. The families were large and peace

773 778 voice of the male heart calling from the hills at night, and whenever they have tried to follow, it has always eluded them. 796 Each year, at full moon, in the month of July, the basket, with all the ceremonial trappings, is brought forth by the keeper, who is an old Papago woman, sister of the man who has charge of it, and she watches over it during the whole ceremony. At the conclusion, the man in charge opens the basket, inserts one hand in the bag, putting the other hand over the opening to prevent his seeing the heart, turns it over, then withdraws his hand and closes the opening, replacing the bag in the basket, which he lashes down with deerskin thongs. When the keeper grows old and realizes that he is about to die, he appoints a successor.

796 788 [484] The people for many miles around make an annual pilgrimage to the village of Quitovaquita, situated twenty-five miles south of the boundary line, in Sonora, to pay honor to the sacred relic, and to pray for belessings which it grants, such as plenty of rain, good crops, health, and long life for each family. Any neglect of this pil-

796 grimage and ceremony may entail floods,
788 drought, sickness, even death. To avoid
these the people travel many miles, with
teams or on horseback, under a blazing sun
or in rainstorms, to participate in the ceremony.
133 The place where the monster lived
covers an area of two or three hundred acres
of whitish earth or calcareous material,
which the Indians claim to be the remains of
the flesh of the monster. Below the surface
137 are massses of immense bones. Quitovaquita
342 is surrounded by tropical desert vegetation
361 of palo verde, mesquite, palo fierro,
giant or saguaro cactus, pitahaya or organ
cactus, and other desert growth. It consists
of twenty or thirty one-story houses,
312 built of adobe or of stone imbedded in mud.

796 In the center of the village is a *charco*, or
large pool, which is fed by a number of
springs and furnishes water for the village,
and drinking and wading places for burros,
horses, and cattle. When the pool is filled,
the water is used to irrigate the gardens of
the villages. During the period of the fiesta
the village is thronged with visiting Indians,
and those who cannot find accommoda-

312 tion in the houses, camp near the pool.
796 The writer was fortunate in having the
[124] opportunity of visiting Quitovaquita during
a fiesta, as the guest of Joseph Menager,
who has a ranch near the border, and who
speaks fluently both the Spanish and
Papago languages.

796 We reached the village at 8 o'clock in the
morning, and stopped at the house of the
chief, whose Spanish name is Manuel
Ortega. We went a half mile into the
desert to the grounds where the ceremony
was to be held, and met a number of the
men who were to participate. Hanging on
a small shelter were the ceremonial trappings that later were to be used during the
796 fiesta. They consisted of deerskin masks
293 that fitted over the head, the fronts of which
[532] were pierced by two holes for the eyes, and
from the lower edges hung long fringes.
Sashes of bright-colored fabric, necklaces
composed mostly of blue-glass beads interspersed with short lengths of shell beads,
bunches of eagle-feathers, robes, anklets
girdled with cocoons filled with fine sand,
and girdles of deerskin, suspended from

796 [293] which were several bells and sea-shells
strung on deerskin thongs.

In the afternoon of August 4, Manuel
Ortega, aided by all the other house-owners,
made four small piles of sand in front of
his house, and later two men, wearing deer-
skin masks with feathers, and girdles with
jingling shells and bells, came to the house,
headed by a leader and followed by a crowd
of men and boys. The leader placed pinches
of cornmeal on each pile of sand, and a
bunch of medicine-feathers on one of the
piles. Four times he put the pinches of
meal around, and then one of the men shot
a small arrow into one of the sand-piles. A
[43] pail of figs was presented to the performers
by the house-owner, and in an hour the
performance was repeated. This is a kind
of blessing, and is said to insure good luck
to the household for the ensuing year.

On the night of the fourth everybody
[346] went out to the fiesta grounds, where two
booths, made of the wood of the saguaro
cactus, semicircular in form and about 100
feet apart, had been built. In each of
these, at short intervals, two men having

796 masks crowned with feathers on their heads and carrying in their hands wands decorated with bunches of eagle-feathers on each end and in the middle, danced all night opposite each other, singing at the same time in a falsetto voice. After dancing for five or ten minutes the men discarded their masks and wands, and rested for a like period.

[537] About midnight, the old man who had entire charge delivered a speech in which he said that "Montezuma" had given this ceremony to the people and desired it to be continued, at the same time urging the young men to learn it, as but few of the old men remained who understood the legend and the ceremony.

796
292 Before sunrise on the morning of the fifth, the people dressed in holiday clothes and went out to the fiesta grounds to witness the opening of the principal day. In the booths preparations were being made behind improvised curtains, and as the sun rose, the principal figures, robed in red blankets with girdles of shells and bells, and wearing masks crowned with eagle-feathers, went forward to the singers' booth, about 300

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feet to the west, accompanied by assistants robed in blankets, cut poncho-style, with bare arms and legs painted white. There were three assistants to each group, and as they advanced they sprinkled libations of cornmeal from small clam-shells that each [293] held in the left hand. The masked men carried wands, about four feet long, decorated with bunches of eagle-plumes fastened to each end and in the middle. Each plume was fastened with sinew to a deerskin thong, and these were tied in bunches. The assistants wore gray blankets and turbans made of red bandanas, and carried shells of cornmeal. The meal which figures in the ceremony is made only from corn that grows in [824] double or twin ears. In the turbans were inserted four eagle-feathers attached to short sticks. Above the feet of each man were fastened deerskin anklets, circled with small rattles of tough cocoons filled with fine sand. As they neared the singers' booths they crossed on each side, then turned and came back to the booth from which they had started, and took off their ceremonial robes. In the singers' 796

796 534 In the singer's booth sat four men, facing east, having in front of them large, bowl-shaped, coiled baskets, inverted. On the bottoms of the baskets rested the ends of a notched stick made of creosote wood, the other end being held in the left hand of the singer. In the right hand of each singer was held the half of a lower jaw of a peccary, a deer's shoulder-blade, and the shin-bones of a deer with the hoofs on. With these bones the singers rubbed the notched sticks up and down, producing thereby a hollow sound to the rhythm of the singing.

796 778 533 Immediately behind the singers sat an old Indian woman, her head wrapped in a red bandana, as the guardian of the basket containing the heart. The basket was 4½ ft. long, 1½ ft. wide, and 1 ft. deep, and was placed on a low platform behind her, and level with her shoulders. The series of songs or cantos dealt with the sun, moon, stars, the earth, creation, and the culture-hero "Montezuma." As the singers chant, the older Indians think they can hear a woman's voice, and say, "The heart is calling for its mate." 796 The three priests from

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 each booth must neither eat nor drink from sunrise to sunset, during the time of the ceremony, nor relieve themselves during that period. Four times, at noon, dry pinole and water are held under their noses, but they must not touch either of them.
[785] The four singers and the woman guardian may have water, but no food; neither may they leave their posts to relieve bodily discomforts, from sunrise to sunset.

Any of the men or boys may don the ceremonial costumes and march, two at a time, to the spot near the singers' booths, where they dance and sing twice, and then, returning, sing once while in the booth, and once before retiring from it, making four times in all, for four is the ceremonial number of
[801] the Papago. Anything done once must be repeated four times before it is completed.

The two men in costumes and masks always sang and stamped opposite each other, and made the same motions with the ceremonial eagle-wands. Each party took about ten or twelve minutes from the time the assistants fastened on the ceremonial costumes until they were removed. Usually

(Left) THE CEREMONIAL BOOTH. (Right) THE LEADER PLACING SACRED MEAL ON THE SAND PILE
Note the medicine-feathers on one of the distant piles. (Photograph by Joseph Menager)

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

[Facing p. 170(A)]

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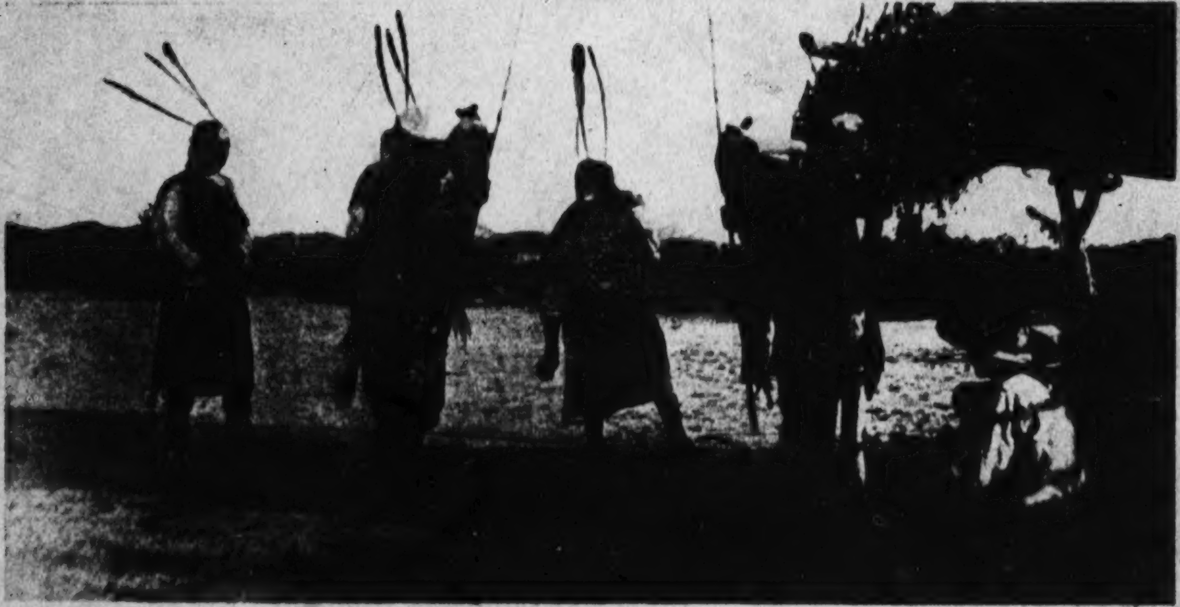
13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

[Facing p. 170(B)]

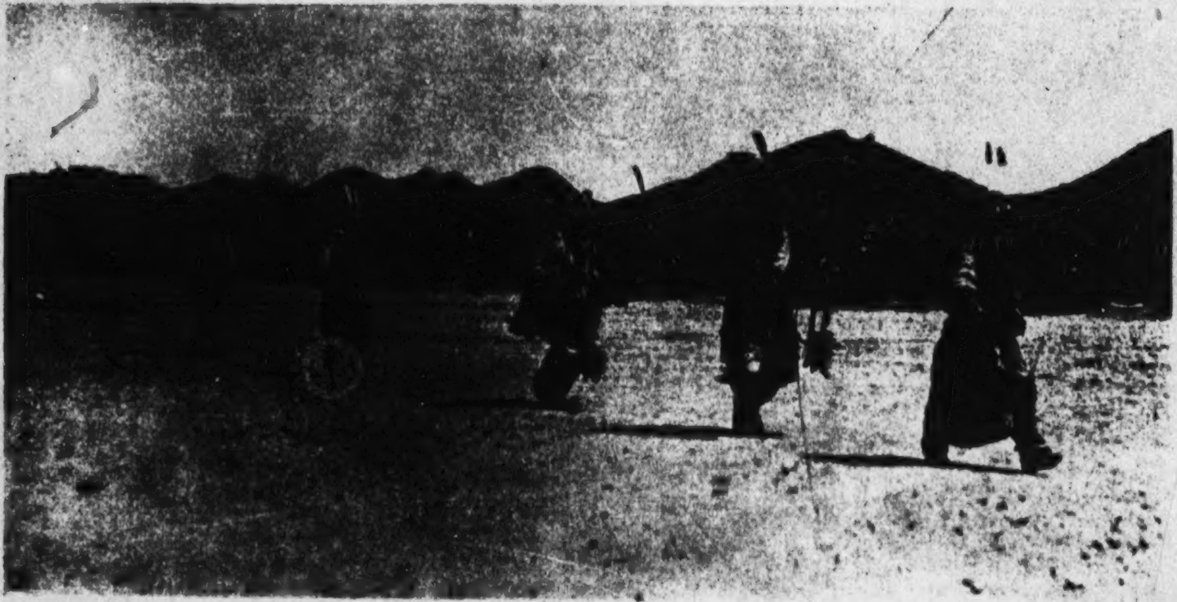


THE MASKED PERFORMERS DANCING
(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

796 an old man and a novice went in together, the older man taking the lead in singing and stamping. Some extended the arms straight out with wands held vertically in the middle, which they raised and lowered rhythmically; others held them horizontally with both hands, raising and lowering them like dumbbells; some held them horizontally at their sides, working them up and down over the shoulders; others held them by the ends, swinging them from side to side.

After the first song, the leading priest started out of the booth to the left, and, as he went, sprinkled some of the sacred meal. Next came the leading dancer, then his companion, then the other two priests, who also scattered meal. They then proceeded in single-file to the spot near the singers' booth, where they danced. The head-priest punched a hole in the ground with his toe, and with a ceremonial swing of the arm dropped some meal. The head-dancer stepped on this meal. Then the priest advanced, punched another hole opposite the north, in which he sprinkled some sacred meal, and then the head-dancer stepped on this, 796 while the second dancer stepped on the first-placed meal. Next the head-priest punched a hole at the south and dropped a pinch of meal, and the first dancer hopped on this while his companion stepped on the meal opposite, to the north. In these positions they danced, and if they did not quite step on the meal, the priests guided them. After a few minutes the leader again shifted the dancers, and they went through the same motions. When the dance was finished they marched in the same rotation back to their booth, the leading priest sprinkling meal as he turned the corner to enter. The two priests bringing up the rear also sprinkled meal as they turned into the booth. When inside the booth the masked men danced again and then disrobed.

About mid-afternoon two clowns entered, one from each booth, each wearing a deerskin mask and a ragged strip of deerskin over the shoulder, and carrying a new bow and arrow. They went around the fiesta grounds as if hunting, and in pantomime they found tracks, followed them up, and stole upon the game; then one of them shot



PRIESTS WITH THEIR FEATHERED WANDS
(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

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[Facing p.172(A)]

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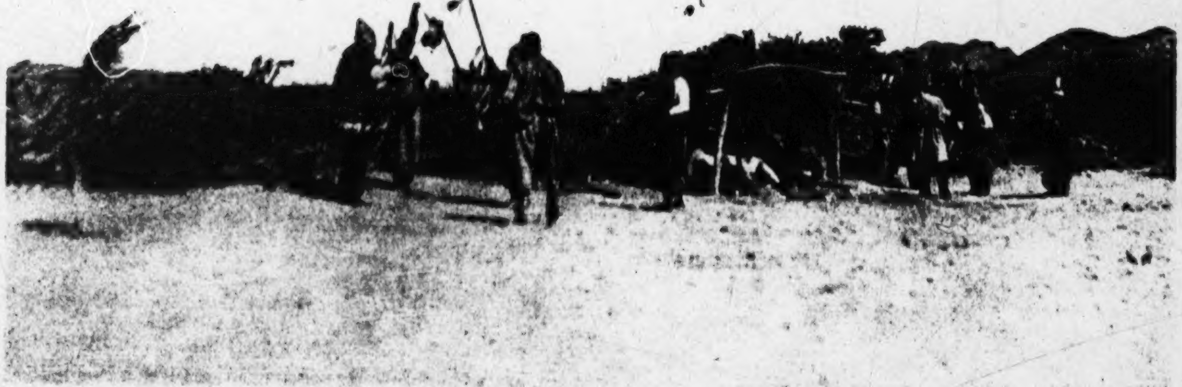
PL. XI

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

[Facing p. 172 (B)]



THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CEREMONY AND THE FOUR SINGERS IN THE BOOTH

(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

796 an arrow at it. The other went through the motions of killing the game by smashing the skull, and threw it over his shoulder. Then they went in search of more tracks, and in turn killed jackrabbits, deer, antelope, and other game, one at a time.

When the banner was paraded, one man carried a bush from which the clowns appeared to pick things. These represented [223] large, fat, yellow worms, which in the spring are sometimes found on bushes and are eaten by the Indians. The clowns gathered these in pantomime, and then built a fire to roast and eat them. Four times the banner was paraded about the ground. It [789] appeared to be a small square of white sheeting, upon which was painted a crude rainbow, clouds, and rain. Presumably it was intended to bring rain or to prevent [273] drought. Late in the afternoon many of the Indians, drunk from tizwin, staggered about the ground.

At sunset the last of the ceremony took place. The priests led the masked dancers in front of the singers' booth, and there the four masked men danced and sang; then all

796 returned to their respective booths, while the people crowded in and the priests sprinkled meal, blessed all those in the booths, and the fiesta was finished, except the grand debauch.

The singers left the booths, and the old woman picked up the basket containing the sacred relic, balanced it on her head, and later laid it on the roof of a ramada, near the house where the tizwin was deposited. The ceremonial articles were tied up in a large bundle, carried to the same place, and deposited near by. Here they were under constant observation, and were perfectly safe. The second day later they were to be placed in their secret cave and sealed.

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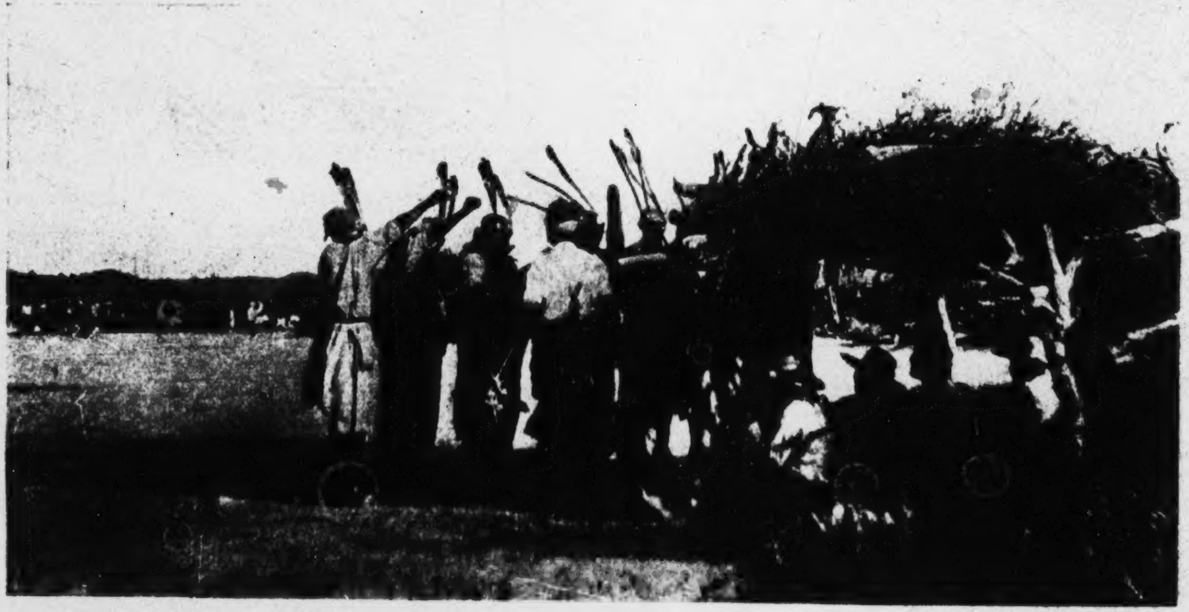
273
786 The night following the ceremony was given over entirely to unrestricted drinking, indulged in by the entire male population. A peculiar custom is that some of the young men, still able to walk, went [201] around to every Indian house and touched every man on the shoulder with a stick of saguaro wood—a summons to go to the tizwin house and get drunk. This could not be disregarded. The summons was



SINGING AND DANCING BEFORE THE SINGERS' BOOTH

One of the ceremonial booths of cactus ribs may be seen in the distance. (Photograph by Joseph Menager)

[Facing p. 174]

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13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 273 786 always accompanied with the ceremonial phrase, "You are a good man when you are drunk." Any man so summoned arose immediately, found his way to the place of debauchery, and drank. Often the men would vomit, then proceed to drink again, and this might happen several times during the night. All drank, both men and boys, until there was not a sober one in the village.

273 796 Tizwin is the juice of the fruit of the saguaro cactus, gathered in July, and is boiled down to a syrup, then sealed up in small ollas. A cloth is placed over the top, tied down, and then plastered over with mud, which is allowed to dry. Three days before the fiesta is to end, the syrup is placed in a number of large ollas, set in the earth in a special house. Water is then poured into the ollas until they are nearly full, and a slow fire of mesquite sticks is built in the center of the house. The keeper, an old, dried-up Indian, then closes the door, leaving the liquid to ferment. The smouldering fire is kept alive for three days and nights, and when the ceremony is

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over the liquor is ready to drink. If it is not consumed when fully ripe, it becomes water and loses its intoxicating qualities. In color it is blood-red and tastes like sour wine. There were nine large ollas in this house, containing twelve to fourteen gallons each, so that in all, about 120 gallons must have been consumed.

The old keeper doled the liquor in small, two-quart ollas, from which the Indians drank, passing them from mouth to mouth until all was consumed, and the ollas ready to be refilled. [757] The Indians claim that the liquor is good for them, as it cleanses the system either as an emetic or as a cathartic. [773] It was given to them by "Montezuma," together with the saguaro and other desert products. [578] During the drinking there was neither quarreling nor fighting.

135 Within a quarter of a mile of Quitovaquita, at the place where the monster is said to have perished, there appears to be a great deposit of lime-like earth, and in some places limestone. This doubtless hides the skeletal remains of many large prehistoric animals, since we there found

MASKED CLOWNS SHOOTING THE ARROWS AT IMAGINARY GAME
(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

[Facing p. 176]

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[Facing p. 178]

PARADING THE BANNER
(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

THE VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO

By Julian Hayden

796 In November, 1936, a dance, marking the end of a four year period,
and apparently combining a harvest ceremony with a rain dance and possibly
a commemoration of the sacrifice of the children, was held at old
Santa Rosa, Papagueria. The dance, scheduled for 1935, but for some
reason deferred till 1936, began November 1 at old Santa Rosa and continued
there for ten days. On November 11 a ceremony was held at the
shrine of the children, west of old Santa Rosa. A second ten day dance
began there on the twelfth, reaching its climax and its end on Saturday,
November 21. The following is an eye-witness account of events taking
place from twelve noon Friday, the 20th, to the end at four PM, Saturday,
114 November 21.

Our party, composed of Charlie R. Steen, Junior Naturalist, Southwestern
Monuments, Isabelle Pendleton and Julian D. Hayden, of Pueblo
Grande, Phoenix, Arizona, reached Anegam, a large Papago village about
two miles north of new Santa Rosa, at twelve noon on Friday. Stopping
on the south border of the village, we heard singing and jangling of
[493] bells in the brush nearby, and saw wagonloads of Papagoes in holiday
dress driving into the brush in the direction of the singing. A passing
vaquero told us that it was permitted for white men to witness the
dancing, so we followed a trail through the mesquite into a clearing,
in which stood a dozen or more wagons, each with its family sitting
in it or standing nearby.

796 In the clearing was a circular enclosure of tall arrowweeds, about
[417] ten feet in diameter, with an opening on the east side. A group of eight
masked and costumed men was dancing in front of this enclosure, attended
by a line of thirteen male singers, in work clothes, each man or boy
with the half of a gourd tied over his face. Within the enclosure were
several old men, also in work clothes, who apparently supervised the
distribution of the articles carried by the members of the chorus.
These, with an old man-outside, seemed also to direct the dancing,
correcting steps and gestures.

COSTUMES

796 Since the costumes of the masked dancers were the same, except for
292 minor individual variations, as those worn on Saturday, they are described
536 now. All wore great headdresses of turkey tail feathers, arranged in a
[237] clump tied to the top of the masks. Long feathers, one on either side
of the clump, made by tying two or more feathers end to end, with white
and in some cases red downy plumes tied to the upper ends, stood erect
and waving above the headdress proper. The sack-like masks of deerskin
or canvas had small eyeholes and a mouthhole, reached down over the
shoulders, and had deeply fringed lower borders. The faces of these

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.).

796 292 [531] masks were painted in a black chevron pattern, the chevrons arranged in columns side by side, about an inch wide.

Attached to the back of the mask, below the clump of feathers and at about the base of the head, was a strap or panel of variously colored cloth or canvas, hanging free, usually about 4 to 6" wide, and reaching to the small of the back. This panel was fringed, usually with short turkey feathers, and had ornaments fastened to it. These ornaments were, variously, of tin, cut into diamonds, squares, or circles, of mirrors large and small, of cutout paper figures representing both a person picking sahuaro fruit and a curious human figure with what seemed to be horns on its head. One back strap had the chrome plated hub [117] shields of an Essex and Plymouth automobile fastened to it, brilliantly polished. Several had spread hawk wings tied to the panel edges in place of the turkey feather fringe. Others had the tail feathers of [825] the Western Red Tail Hawk arranged side by side across the bottom, with turkey feather fringe on the sides; another had the spread tail of a similar hawk tied across the bottom. The fringe of one strap was of the green imitation grass used in Christmas decorations. Another had, in place of the usual panel, a medallion about two feet in diameter, of long hawk or eagle feathers arranged radially about a small central disc, and attached to the headdress by a slender strap.

Many or all masks had a braid or twist of horsehair or human hair attached to each side, hanging down over the dancer's breast, and ornamented with tufts of red down or other bright plumes.

The dancers wore white garments reaching to the knees, usually sleeveless. Some of these shifts or tunics were opened up the side from hem to armhole, with overlapping edges apparently held closed by the belts which the men wore. Others wore plain tunics without the side opening. The belts were varied. Many were of wide canvas, with [534] cowbells and dinner gongs tied to them. These sometimes had a fringe of tinklers, made of cones of rolled tin five or six inches in length, hung by thread or copper wire from the lower edge of the belt. One man wore several immense brass bells, resembling sleighbells, three or more inches in diameter, on his belt. While most belts had a few bells, several were solidly hung with them.

Many dancers, in addition to a narrow belt with bells tied to it, wore fringed aprons, consisting of two roughly semi-circular pieces of canvas, one before and one behind, joined at the hips with string. One at least wore a black apron. Another dancer wore a cloth cartridge belt, with large wooden cartridges four inches long, painted red and blue, in the loops. At least one dancer wore a machete, in its scabbard, stuck through his belt. Some carried pouches attached to their tunics below the right breast, and several of these pouches looked suspiciously like ladies' handbags.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

All the dancers carried quivers of arrows, the quivers being made 796
of canvas, painted red or left natural color, or of skins. At least 292
one quiver was made of the entire skin of a kit fox. These quivers 411
were fastened across the small of the back at an angle, open end up
and to the dancer's right. Many quivers were fringed.

Two or more men carried imitation powderhorns of cowhorn, in one case carried slung over the left shoulder and resting on the right hip, in the other, tied to the belt on the right side.

The dancers' arms and legs were bare, though a few men had shirt 292
sleeves and Levi legs rolled up and showing beneath the tunic. Legs 796
and arms were painted with what seemed to be white clay, decorated
with groups of short vertical lines, done both in red paint and by [302]
scraping off the clay.

On the left wrist the dancers wore ornaments of skin, canvas, or [301]
of both. One wore the entire skin of a ringtailed cat wrapped around
his wrist, the tail dangling. Other wrist decorations were made by wrapping the end of a long strip of material, two to four inches wide, once about the wrist, letting the end dangle a foot or more. These were often fringed, or had plumes tied to them, and were painted in colors. Many were red with white geometric patterns; one was yellow with diagonal green lines.

Each dancer carried a wooden arrow, fletched with turkey feathers, 293
the point carved out the wooden shaft, or carried a wooden wand or lance,
in the left hand. These were red, with white banding. In the right hand 796
most carried a bow made of grotesquely twisted wood. These bows ranged from two to two and one half feet long, and were also painted red with white banding. A few men carried wooden guns, one being made of a twinned saguaro rib, the butt representing the stock, and the ribs the barrels of a double barrelled shotgun. One or two men carried cheap commercial popguns. Several men with guns carried arrows in their left hands, though others carried wands and used them as ramrods.

Legs were bare from knee down, and the dancers wore anklets of 292
black leather or of black cloth on which were sewed one or more rows
of cocoons, fastened by one end. One dancer's anklets were solidly 796
covered with cocoons, as if he had strung them and wrapped the string spirally about his ankle. All dancers wore sandals, of leather soles tied on with thongs. In some cases cocoons were sewn to the ankle binding, on the outside.

The chorus was made up of both men and boys, and each member car- 796
ried ceremonial objects in both hands. All but two were bare headed, 292
and wore halves of gourds bound over their faces. These gourds were
decorated with horizontal zones of color, consisting of a blue band 531
one and one-half or two inches wide at eye level, a red zone, extending

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 292 531 from the blue to the top of the mask, probably painted with ochre, which bore white figures in dots or short lines, and the lower zone in white, probably clay, which extended to the bottom of the mask and bore designs in red, which varied with each mask. All these red patterns resembled the typical Papago black-on-red pottery designs, consisting of scrolls, hachuring, diagonal lines, diamonds, etc.

796 292 The two choristers who did not wear gourd masks were small boys, who wore instead sack-like coverings of canvas which fitted down over their shoulders. These were not fringed. On the crowns was a clump of mustard yellow material, possibly dyed cornhusks, about two inches in diameter and an inch high. The masks had eyeholes, round ears of some thick material, possibly rawhide, about two inches long semi-circular and concave, and plugs or round wooden sticks, each about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and three inches long, fastened to the mask in place of a mouthhole. One of these was straight with squared end, the other was hooked and pointed. They were not painted, nor did the masks bear any painting.

DANCE MOVEMENTS, SONG, RITUAL OBJECTS

796 533 535 The dancers and chorus at this noon ceremony on Friday performed evolutions which were simpler and less elaborate than those performed on Saturday. The chorus entered the enclosure and there received from the old men the objects which its members were to carry. The dancers meanwhile waited outside the enclosure, posturing and treading the ground and jingling their bells. When the choristers had received their equipment, they formed in line in front of the enclosure and marched single file around it, contra-clockwise, preceded by the dancers, who leaped and ran and cavorted in front of them. When they had completed the circuit, the chorus came to rest, facing south, the leader nearest the enclosure, and the dancers stopped before the entrance, in front of the chorus, in a group. During this march the chorus was singing, and continued to sing after halting, raising and lowering their right heels in time to the song. The dancers shuffled or stamped or leapt into the air as they pleased, always in time to the song. They did not follow any fixed pattern in their movements about the dance ground, but milled about in a group, some dancing in one spot throughout.

796 533 The song, always to the same tune, seeming to be repetitive generally in the pattern a-a-b-b-a, was wordless, the syllable o-o-o-oh being used throughout, although words may have been rendered indistinguishable by the muffling of the masks. The time was the same throughout the song, but the rhythm was varied. The range of notes was short, probably not exceeding an octave. At the end of the pattern, the chorus repeated twice a long drawnout o-o-o-oh, each beginning on the same note, increasing in volume and rising about a half tone, held for a moment and ending in a slight diminuendo and a very slight drop in tone. At the

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

end of each, just before the tone stopped, a high pitched, clear, two 796
syllabled call was sounded by a chorister, possibly by means of a 533
whistle, which resembled a phrase of turkey or quail conversation.

During the first o-o-o-oh, the choristers raised the objects which 796
they carried to armslength above their heads; during the second, they
lowered them again to waist level. The dancers poised themselves at the 533
end of the tune, and violently shook their hips during each o-o-o-oh 535
poising again at attention between the two. The chorus repeated the
song several times while standing in line, then trotted around the enclosure
in silence, preceded by the running dancers, and entered it,
giving their objects back to the old men and receiving new ones.

The objects which they carried varied with each period of dancing. 796
No order or sequence in the distribution was noticed, though the cotton
covered triangles, described below, were carried at intervals. These 535
objects were, variously, slender wands 18" long or so, painted red with 293
white banding; similar wands with desert grasses, possibly Indian wheat,
tied around them at the top; slender wands, red, with balls made of raw
cotton, about 4" in diameter, formed on the upper end, and with zigzag
brown lines radiating from the top center and running down the sides;
isosceles triangles held upright, the downward extension of the two long
sides serving as handles, and the triangles filled in solidly with raw
cotton, with a zigzag brown line on the front; husked ears of corn.

The chorus also carried, during one period, a flat, stretcher- [482]
like framework covered with white cloth, about eight feet in length,
with rounded upper end, made by lashing light cross pieces to an outside
frame. This was carried upright by several choristers, and the
other choristers took sahuaro fruit-gathering sticks from the sides [412]
of the enclosure where they had been placed, and supported the frame
with these hooking them over the top. These poles were about twelve
feet long, with a short stick crossed near the top at an angle, the
whole painted red. When the period ended, these poles were stuck back
vertically into the arrowweed walls of the enclosure.

This dance lasted possibly an hour and a half. Towards the close, 796
the old men inside brought out bundles of the objects, wrapped in burlap
or blankets, and placed them in the wagons. They also brought out several
bundles of clothing belonging to the dancers and put them also in
wagons. Men also brought out gourd vessels, painted white with red de- [531]
signs trailing from the mouths, and placed them in the wagons. Several
of these were wrapped in sacking.

At the close of the dance, the choristers took the cloth-covered [482]
framework and arranged themselves about it as if carrying a stretcher.
The dancers grouped themselves at the forward end of the chorus, carrying
the sahuaro poles, and they all set out down the road to old Santa 796
Rosa, to the southeast a couple of miles. While the chorus and dancers 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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534 were forming thus in procession, boys and men, not in costume, brought out bull roarers, and these formed the vanguard, keeping the bull roarers whirling continually.

These bull roarers consisted of two pieces of wood, each about 18" long and about ¾" thick, an inch wide at the upper end and two or more inches wide at the outer end, which was cut to a short point. The pieces were attached to each other by a heavy cord five or six feet long. The sticks were painted, usually with red ochre, with geometric designs in white on them, of hachuring, diagonal lines, diamonds, or bands. A few were painted with white clay, with red decoration.

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[492] The wagons fell into line behind the dancers and chorus, some twelve or fifteen of them, dogs and colts trailing along, young bucks on horseback riding up and down. A little over half way to old Santa Rosa the procession halted, and the dancers and chorus marched into a field to the left of the road. Here they rested a few moments, while the men got water to drink, and then sang and danced there in the field for about half an hour. Dancers and choristers alike broke ranks as they pleased and went into the brush, resuming the dance when they returned. The chorus did not march during this dance, although the song was the same as before, but formed in two lines facing each other, one on either side of the framework, which had been laid on the ground. The dancers were grouped just to the north of the ranks. We did not see whether or not the chorus carried any objects during this dance. At the end of this time the procession formed again and resumed its way, preceded by the men and boys with bull roarers.

Just before reaching the plaza at old Santa Rosa, the procession stopped, the wagons going on to the dance ground, the dancers and chorus remaining in formation while girls came running with blankets. They held the blankets up, apparently to shield the dancers from view of the crowds in the plaza. After a wait of half an hour or so, the dancers moved to the north edge of the plaza and halted again, still screened by the blankets, which were held before and about the group during this last short march.

Another group of dancers was gathered on the opposite side of the plaza 300 yards or so to the south, screened behind brush.

We were told by Papagoes that a similar dance was held that noon both in old Santa Rosa and in new Santa Rosa, and that both the Anegam and old Santa Rosa groups were now waiting for the new Santa Rosa group to arrive. During this wait the Anegam men lay down on the ground and rested.

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417 The dance ground here was laid out between two NW-SE trending lines of houses, a hundred or more yards apart. A square enclosure of cane and tall arrowweed, neatly tied between horizontal poles into

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 [534] from each group continually broke ranks and ran to the next, hesitating as if to catch the new rhythm, and joining in, only to break again in a moment or so. When darkness fell, most of the dancers were gathered on the north side of the enclosure near the NW corner, although a few were at each of the other two corners. This was all accompanied by much clowning and grotesque pantomiming, with hilarity in the crowd of onlookers, now numbering several hundred Papagoes.

After dark, about eight P.M., the number of dancers seemed to diminish, and many were running about over the plaza and among the crowds. We were told by a Pima that the masked dancers did individual dances before the camp fires of many or all of the Indian families gathered there, and asked for food. This received, the dancer put it in his pouch and ran with it back to the enclosure, where it was placed in the common supply for the dancers during the night. Within the enclosure six fires were blazing, about which throughout the night the dancers and chorus and onlookers warmed themselves. At four A.M. the dance stopped, the performers presumably getting some rest, and was not resumed till just before seven A.M., at sunrise. During the early hours of the morning, at least, only one chorus was singing, and few dancers were about.

The plaza was a colorful place Friday night, scores of camp fires blazing, masked dancers jingling about among the wagons and here and there in the darkness of the plaza new arrivals, in wagons and in cars, coming up and making camp, the singing continuous, with the repeated o-o-o-oh at the end of the tunes affecting us much as does the never-ending beat of the drums at other Indian ceremonies.

Before daylight the camp fires were burning brightly, lighting the great crescent of closely spaced wagons; a few babies cried here and there, and the soft pat-pat of women making tortillas was a monotone underlying all the varied sounds of the encampment. Horses whickered in the fields about the village, and now and then a mule brayed. The dancers were silent, save for an occasional jangle of bells as some dancer joked and postured for his friends about a fire.

The sun rose behind clouds, a brilliant dawn turning to a grey, cold morning. As the light grew stronger, but before the sun was surely above the desert ranges, the dancers began to gather in front of the enclosure. Just before seven A.M. they marched, jangling bells and cavorting in high spirits to the dance ground between the enclosure and the lean-to, and there broke ranks and gathered with the crowd of spectators on the south side of the dance floor. Visitors came running from all sides to the spot where they were, and we could not find out what was happening. A Papago, camped beside us, suggested that a fight was going on, but the crowd was quiet and orderly, though interested, and we were inclined to discount his opinion. Soon, however, the dancers broke away from the crowd and ran to the entrance of the enclosure, where they waited for the chorus to appear. There were now two choruses only,

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 one which was to march out with the dancers, and one which was to remain inside. Singing began, the same song as that sung during the night, and one chorus, of about fifteen singers, in elaborate costume, emerged from the enclosure and, preceded by the herd of dancers, marched to the dance floor. This chorus sang independently of the chorus inside.

Meanwhile, from somewhere came two score or more of men, all in army overcoats, who lined up against the west side of the enclosure outside, some standing, some sitting, as though they were privileged persons occupying reserved seats.

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The chorus carried, the first time, the triangular forms of cotton, representing, we were told, clouds, the brown zigzag lines signifying lightning. The costumes of the chorus were, in the main, as follows. Each man or boy, most were in their teens, was stripped to the waist, with bare legs and feet. They wore skirts brilliantly colored, both of cotton and of rayon, reaching to the knees. Many of these skirts had had panels in contrasting colors sewn to them, and one in particular had a vertical red panel on the left side of a blue skirt, with the four playing card symbols appliqued on it in blue. Several had Christmas tree decorations, tinsel, glass balls, etc., sewn to their skirts. Each chorister had, stuck in his belt behind, a pair of bull roarer sticks, nearly all of which were red, with white decoration. They all wore anklets of black material with cocoons sewn to them.

[302] From the waist up the choristers were painted red, spotted all over with inch wide circular daubs of white clay. About their necks all wore bright silk rodeo neckerchiefs. One boy wore a mirror strapped across his chest with bright ribbons. Several boys wore strands of Christmas tinsel, like crossed bandoliers, over their shoulders. All wore the gourd masks, with the exception of the two little boys who wore the sacklike masks described above. These boys also wore skirts.

At the head of the chorus, which marched in single file except when several had to help carry floats, the two little boys trotting alongside near the head of the column, was a leader. This leader, a middle-aged man, was clad in a plain white tunic, belted at the waist and reaching to the knees. His legs were painted white, and he wore sandals; his arms were bare and painted white, his hands were black. About his head he wore a white band in which on the left side was stuck a long tail feather of hawk or eagle. The upper half of his face was painted black, and the lower half smeared with white.

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This leader carried in the crook of his left arm a deep tray basket of Pima manufacture, about 18" in diameter, painted white and black inside and out in alternate eighths. In the basket was white meal, which held in place four sectors of short, dark turkey feathers, lying against the inside of the basket.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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The chorus marched to the dance floor in single file, the leader, head bowed, in front. While the dancers, numbering about 34, grouped themselves near the center of the dance floor, the chorus halted facing south, on the north edge of the floor. Here they sang for a few moments, repeating the song more than once, the dancers jangling their bells at each long drawn out tone. Then the chorus marched again, still singing, making a complete circuit of the floor, while the dancers remained in the center, still dancing. This circle was about 35' in diameter. The chorus halted in front of the lean-to, facing east, and sang the tune through several times, possibly four in all. The leader, when the chorus had halted, walked back along the line, tossing ~~a~~ pinch of meal upon each one in turn. Then the chorus, ending the song, followed their leader in single file off the dance floor, marching along the south side of the enclosure and into it, while the dancers ran on ahead and waited for them outside, near the northwest corner.

Inside the enclosure, the second chorus, in similar costume, had been singing, holding the objects which the marching chorus was to carry on its next circuit. A number of times this chorus ended its song before the marchers had arrived, and waited in silence until they had entered. The outside group took the objects, and formed again at the entrance and began the march, resuming their song while the inside chorus received new objects from attendants and began the song also.

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In the entrance of the lean-to, facing east, stood six people in costume, who apparently paid no attention to the dancers and chorus. Two girls in their teens, one younger than the other, stood side by side in the center of the entrance. They were flanked by two boys, one on each side, who in turn were flanked by two middle-aged men. The two men wore costumes similar to that worn by the chorus leader, were similarly painted, and held the baskets of meal. The two boys were nude to the waist, wore brightly colored skirts, and were bare legged and barefooted. The left half of their heads and torsos was painted black. Each wore a white head band with a feather stuck in the back of it. In their left hands each held a miniature bow and arrow, also painted black. The two girls wore ankle length skirts of bright material, one of brilliant green rayon, and were barefoot. Their arms and shoulders were bare, their upper clothing consisting of two wide ribbons or sashes crossed over the breasts and reaching the waist. The younger girl, in the green skirt, wore purple ribbons. These girls held in their right hands husked ears of white corn.

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An old man who seemed to be attendant upon these four young people was dressed in blue denim trousers and coat, and wore a headband and feather. Inside the lean-to was a seated man in a white tunic and head band, with the lower half of his face painted white. His arms and hands were also white. He had in front of him several large bowl shaped baskets, inverted, and painted white. Throughout the morning he beat on one of these baskets with a stick, in slow even tempo, the beats about

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

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The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

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The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

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During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, including several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float ~~was~~ a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and warlike gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 293 532 Later, after the chorus had marched several times with small objects, another float appeared, this one long, with four deer in single file upon it, with short arrowweed tied to it in bunches to simulate brush. These deer were made of dried deer skins and heads stretched over frameworks of sticks.

Another float, some time later, bore a deer and two fawns, in single file, partially concealed by clumps of arrowweed. Beneath the deer on the float was a small hemisphere of black cloth, about 12" high, and on top of this perched a bird cut out of thin wood and painted black. It had a humped back and large hooked beak.

The last float of this kind bore one deer, a shaggy old brute with tremendous grizzled head, the hide stretched crudely over sticks, as was done in the case of the two preceding deer floats.

The dancers went through the same performance with each one of these floats, and the chorus carried bows and arrows with each. Beside the deer floats, there were several others. One, requiring six choristers to carry it, was a long stretcher on which was a model of Baboquiviri[1] some four feet long and two feet high, with the peak standing a foot above the sharp ridge. This was of cloth stretched over a frame, painted an uneven green color. Behind the mountain, one on each side, were two pyramids of white cloth, about a foot high. In front of the mountain, and on the same float, was a large black hemisphere, some two feet in diameter, on which perched a bird, possibly a foot high, cut out of a flat piece of wood. This bird also was humpbacked and had a large hooked beak. The wing, beak and legs were black, the rest of the body and the head were white. The chorus carried triangles in this procession.

One float, coming later, was a representation of Santa Rosa mountain about three feet long and twenty inches high, sharp ridged. This was painted a dirty grey color and on it were sahuaros about ten inches high, painted blue. Just below the peak, on the side of the mountain was a human figure in black, cut out of flat wood, square-shouldered and square-headed, about six inches high. Its arms were straight and held out from the sides, and its legs were bent out at the knees, feet apart.

Another float consisted of a roughly hemispherical frame, covered with brown cloth, about 3' long and 2' wide, on top of which stood what seemed to be a clump of grass about 6" high. A similar float, but smaller, a foot and a half in diameter, was carried later by one man of the chorus, and this had what seemed to be two green corn leaves sprouting from the top of it. What the choristers carried with these floats we did not notice.

[1] [A near-by mountain.—Analyst]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 293 532 In the afternoon a white cloth covered framework similar to that carried at Anegam was brought out. This was about ten feet high and four feet wide, with a bilobate top, each lobe the same size, one of which had a smaller lobe at its edge just below the top. The high wind which came up before noon made this an extremely difficult thing to carry, and the dancers, propping it up with sahuaro sticks, were hard put to it to keep it from blowing away. In this period the dancers discarded their bows and arrows, took up the sahuaro fruit gathering poles and held the frame upright by hooking the short sticks at the end of the poles over the top of the frame. A similar framework was brought out a little later, probably the same one carried at Anegam.

After this a float bearing a blue mountain about 3' long and 18" high appeared. Triangles and semicircles of white paper pasted on light stick frames were fastened upright about and on the sides of the mountain. The choristers carried triangles behind this float.

The last float observed was a hemisphere on a stretcher, some four feet in diameter, solidly tied in with raw white cotton, and with brown zigzags leading from the top centre down the sides. This was almost demolished by the wind before the procession was completed. The choristers carried the wands with the cotton balls on the upper ends during this period.

796 [132] About ten A.M. an east wind came up, blowing in gusts, and increasing in velocity as the day wore on. The dust blew in dense clouds, along the north and south sides of the enclosure, across the dance floor and directly into the lean-to. How the four young folks there breathed at all was beyond our understanding. The old man was continually wiping their faces, especially their eyes, with his cloth. In the afternoon the dust was so heavy and thick, swirling in stinging blasts, that we could not see the dancers eight feet away from us. A little girl sitting on the front bumper of a car nearby went to sleep and fell off on the ground without waking up. An hour later she was drifted deep in sand, and we were afraid she would suffocate.

About 11:30 A.M. the chorus entered the enclosure and remained inside, and we were conscious of a renewed interest and vitality in the crowd of patient and dusty spectators.

796 535 [293] A dancer ran around to the dance floor and there, with a stick, described a circle on the ground, about 8' in diameter, leaving a narrow opening on the east side. He then returned to the group, waiting on the east side of the enclosure. Then several dancers ran to the dance floor, each carrying a gourd, painted white, with red lines trailing from the rims, each with a stopper of wadded cloth, and very carefully set them upright around the circle, just inside the line, scooping out a hollow in the ground to hold each gourd upright. These men entered the circle on hands and knees, head down, as though crawling

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 through a low doorway. Other dancers, by twos and threes, did the same,
535 while the dancers already on the floor postured and clowned and apparently
made fun of the newcomers. When most or all of the dancers had brought
in their gourds and set them up, the whole group ran around to the front
of the enclosure and halted for a moment. Then the group again ran to
the dance floor, one man carrying an effigy of a deer, made by stretch-
[532] ing a small deer hide over a stick framework, with antlers tied to its
head.

This the bearer set on the gourd just south of the circle, and the
dancers stalked and killed it with lances. This was accomplished with
the most grotesque pantomiming, the dancers creeping up on the deer and
spearing it. The crowd of spectators enjoyed this tremendously, cheer-
ing on the hunters and offering advice. Meanwhile the high gusty wind
kept blowing the gourds over and rolling them on the ground, so that
the dancers had to chase them and put them back in place. A little
yellow puppy, very much excited by the uproar, dashed into the milling
[522] dancers, barking and chasing them. The dancers turned on the pup and
pretended to hunt it, finally chasing it off, brandishing their weapons
and leaping into the air. This also was much enjoyed by the onlookers.

After the deer had been dispatched, it was skinned and divided,
still in pantomime. Then the dancers gathered in a great circle, tangent
to the east side of the circle inscribed on the ground, and sat down.
The ensuing few moments were apparently spent swapping lies about their
[522] hunting exploits, one holding his hands apart to describe the length of
his catch. Another took a Bull Durham sack from his pocket and pretended
to roll and light a cigarette. Others reached over and took up gourds,
only to be stopped and apparently scolded by two men who sat in front
of the entrance to the circle of gourds.

Soon, however, the men guarding the gourds turned and on hands and knees took them up and passed them out through the entrance. They were handed about the circle of seated dancers, who removed the stoppers and pretended to drink deep from the vessels.

Now occurred a drunken riot in pantomime, in which the dancers be-
came drunker and drunker, and the action more and more ridiculous. One
man imitated a drunk sick to his stomach, with appropriate motions, col-
lapsing on the ground and rolling about, helped up by other drunks who
then collapsed with him. Others performed various obscene gestures,
[831] mimicking the discharge of natural functions, and evincing a rather
considerable knowledge of various perversions.

One by one the drunken dancers staggered off the dance floor, breaking into a run when outside the ring of spectators, and going to the enclosure. Last out were three, apparently boon companions, who had a most difficult time helping each other off the floor, complicated by the puppy, which dashed about them, yapping and snapping

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

at their heels, quite terrifying them. 796 535

Now, the time being twelve noon, the crowd dispersed to its various camps, and ate lunch, and for about an hour no dancers or choristers appeared.

About one P.M. a few dancers straggled out of the enclosure, as if to warm up before the afternoon performance, and by two P.M. the dance was in full swing again. (The wind and dust had increased, and a heavy black cloud was moving up from the southeast, from the direction of Baboquiviri. [132]

The dance from two until four P.M. employed no new floats or objects other than those noted above, but about 3:30 the young people in the lean-to, with their attendants, disappeared. The crowd began to disperse, and an old Papago told us that rain, for which they had been dancing, was coming soon, that the dance would end before five, and that after the dance, in the evening and night, everyone would get drunk. We left at four, and as we left the crowd of spectators, the dancers were coming out carrying hoes and rakes, the choristers carrying sticks on which were imitation ears of corn. The rain was almost upon us then, dense clouds of dust preceding it and blotting out the entire scene. 796 [786]

The dust was so heavy in the moments before the rain began that we had to stop our car, unable to see the road, or even houses and corrals within three feet of us. Then the rain started, and in this rain we proceeded homeward. [132]

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boy's parents until one or two children had been born, when 582 they erected a hut nearby.

Death was little solemnized by the Papagos. Fearing 764 that the spirit of the dead would drag with him his loved ones, they bestowed the corpse as quickly as possible in a crevice in the rocks leaving with it food, drink, and possessions, and adjuring it not to come back to frighten the living. Often they burned the house to discourage such [768] visitations, and many of them, like the California Indians, never mentioned the name of the dead.

Papago life appears to be barren of material for cere- 773 mony but these wandering people, nevertheless, developed 533 an elaborate system of observances. Their art impulse, deprived of opportunity for costumes and paraphernalia, expressed itself in song and poetry. Their ceremonies were based upon a long myth, describing the origin of all things. In this myth the People were brought up from underground by their leader, Elder Brother. They marched conquering through the country where Casa Grande now stands, driving out the old inhabitants, the Hohokam, or All-Gone-People. In the course of their adventures, there arose all the needs which later beset Papago life: the need for rain, for corn, for venison, for the taking of scalps, and the curing of disease. As each need arose, Elder Brother met it by leading the People in action and by singing a song. These songs, which punctuate the narrative at all its dramatic points, are often charmingly lyrical and descriptive. Moreover, they constituted Papago magic for all time to come. Ceremonies consisted in the singing of these songs, with appropriate dances and oratory. The mere singing was thought to produce the desired result, whatever it might be.

The Papago year was filled with such ceremonies.[2] In 796 July, just before the rainy season, the fruit of the giant cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* was fermented and drunk, with singing, dancing, and oratory.

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[2] This section on songs and ceremonies has been abstracted from *Papago Songs and Ceremonies* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

796 During the summer various nights of singing were held to encourage the growth of crops. In the autumn, when deer hunting began, a deer was ceremonially killed and its flesh eaten after a night of singing and dancing to produce health for the people. Every four years—or, in the southern part of the reservation, every year—a harvest ceremony followed the deer dance. At this time elaborate effigies representing clouds, corn, and other good things of life were carried in a procession by masked singers. If illness threatened a village a special night of singing and dancing was held to drive it away.

796 778 The Papagos felt a need not only for food, but for magic power to sustain them through the hardships of life. Such power, they held, might be attained by the performance of three acts, fraught with supernatural mystery: one was the taking of an enemy scalp, one the killing of an eagle, and one the fetching of salt from the barren desert bordering the Gulf of California. After doing any of these things, a man had brought himself in contact with the supernatural. But this was not enough. He must next purify himself by days of fasting. Then a ceremony must be held over him with the singing of Elder Brother's songs, lest his own magic injure him. Any man undergoing purification might have dreams in which some supernatural being would visit him and teach him songs which would help him cure disease, to run swiftly, to fight, or to hunt.

791 787 It was in just such dreams that the medicine man obtained his unusual power, but he must dream longer than the others. For years he did not tell of his constant supernatural experiences but finally began trying his ability, and at last was accepted publicly. This new power did not as a rule enable him to cure; he only "saw" the disease after singing and smoking to bring himself to the clairvoyant state. He then told the waiting family what had caused 755 the illness—the rabbit, the badger, the eagle, some other offended animal, or perhaps the breaking of a ceremonial rule. The cure was homeopathic. Some one must be sent

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS AND PRACTICES

The Papagos make a number of rather crude cere- 293
monial objects which ritual demands must be thrown away
after each ceremony. Masks are made of half a gourd
(Lagenaria vulgaris) tied with buckskin thongs and cover-
ing only the eyes and nose of the wearer. The face is
crudely painted on it with clay, and small perforations made
for seeing and breathing. A more valuable mask, kept from
year to year, is that belonging to the hereditary clown. It
is made of white buckskin, bag shaped, the closed end of
which comes at the top of the wearer's head and the open
fringed end to his shoulders. A small face is painted on it [386]
with blue soot from creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*.

The body is often ceremonially marked with clay col- 386
ored yellow with a decoction of dandelion flowers *(Taraxa-* 362
cum officinale).

Fetishes were made on various occasions: for the *vikita* 778
or harvest festival, for the *tc'ïrkona*, or visiting dance, when 796
a visiting village entertained its hosts before racing with them; and for a ceremony to insure the growth of wild crops. These effigies were usually made to illustrate the content of a dream. For the *vikita* there were hereditary dream singers who every four years produced a new series of songs and ordered the making of some object to illustrate them. There was a standard range of subjects, including clouds, deer, corn, squash, mountains, and sea birds, though an inventive author sometimes provided a new subject like a mythical monster.

Very little material was available for these structures 349
but they showed considerable extempore invention. A 532
framework was made of ocotillo rods *(Fouquieria splendens)* tied together with thongs, and on this could be draped white buckskins to represent clouds, or reddish dyed ones for mountains. The facsimiles were mounted on a wicker frame of sahuaro ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Large white birds were made on a skeleton of ocotillo ribs covered with raw cotton. Squash effigies were contrived from ocotillo

The principal aboriginal crops were corn, beans, 175 105
and squash, to which the Spanish missionaries added wheat, 241
kidney beans, lentils, vetch, chick peas, and possibly [177]
watermelons. These new crops, however, were not grown
in significant quantities until the last few generations.
Wheat could be planted in February and harvested in May, [221]
and corn was regularly planted in July or August when the
summer rains came; thus two grain crops a year became pos-
sible, greatly increasing the agricultural potential of the
area, although it was still limited by the extreme variation
and scarcity of rainfall.

The typical family was made up of the parents, 175 105
their children, and the wives and children of the sons. 596
Such units were grouped into villages with a tendency for [621]
village members to be related through the paternal line.
Like other southern and western Arizona groups, the family
was the important economic unit, with each family respon-
sible for its own subsistence.

Religious practices were centered around the 175 105
recurring events of the annual economic cycle interspersed 796
by many curing and other personal *crisis ceremonies*. The [771]
regular annual round of ceremonies included as its most [221]
important events a rain ceremony in early summer, after the [361]
gathering of the fruit of the giant cactus, at which the
fermented juice of the fruit was drunk, and a deer dance in
the autumn or early winter when the people had moved into
their mountain localities from the summer field villages.

175 their mountain localities from the summer field villages.

105 The most important and elaborate of all religious
796 ceremonies, however, was the viikita which was celebrated every four years. This has been called a harvest ceremony but it was more than that and might better be called a "world renewal ceremony", something designed to set everything in order and to promote general future growth and welfare (Dr. Bernard Fontana, Personal Communication).

175 The picture is one of a society of small autono-
105 mous villages, loosely held together by custom and tradition, and governed by the unanimous decisions of the older men. For the individual there was a high degree of freedom coupled with full responsibility for the protection, livelihood, and well being of the members of his own family.

181 The difference between this type of society and
177 our own is difficult to visualize. The typical Papago feels most intensively both the loss of individual action in our highly institutionalized society, and the loss of almost complete self-dependence. The welfare agency, for example, will feed his children if they are hungry, but he must abide by their rules; the Indian Service school educates his children, but he has no real control over what they are taught, or how they are taught. It is the difference between a society with small resources, and small opportunities, but with maximum individual freedom and responsibility, and a society with great resources and opportunities made possible by the transfer of individual action to group action and controls

In an earlier day, reservation residence required 178
an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, 361
towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable 433
pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, [464]
with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact
essential to the great majority of Indians during some
period of the year, residence near a source of wage work
is also important.

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. 178
As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs 621
were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. 628
Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look
elsewhere for one or another of the essential community
services: shopping, education, health services, religion,
government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly
different fashion in each of the nine districts.

Baboquivari District. Although the districts -- as 634
political subdivisions of the main reservation — were established 621 628
in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, 368
certain internal district relationships have been built
through time which are now important. In Baboquivari district [666]
Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district
elections. It is also the center for the education [797]
of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for [796]
Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native
ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers

465 The standard rate for picking upland cotton in southern Arizona during the 1950 season was $3.60 per 100 pounds. So the average daily wage for Papago men was approximately $6.00, with a range from about $3.85 up to $9.00.

462 465 434 Papago women apparently are slower pickers than their husbands. They seem to average about 150 pounds a day of upland cotton.[1] This would give them a daily wage of $4.50. For the 5½-day work week Papago men averaged about $33 and their wives about $25. However, since women generally take time off from picking to wash clothes, do some cooking, clean up the cabin, etc., it is likely that many of them earn no more than $12 to $15 per week. There were 17 weeks between September 1, 1950, and the end of the year. The hypothetical average Papago man could have earned some $560 picking cotton over this period. His wife could have added about $200 to $425 depending on how many days in the week she worked. In families with husband and wife picking, income for the season could run $750 to $1,000. It is extremely doubtful if any Papago family actually earned so much.

461 273 [434] One reason income of the Desert People in the fields is lower than the theoretically possible figure is that they do not seem to put in a full work week. Their work week is nearer 4½ than 5½ days,[2] lumping men and women together. This simply indicates men put in a full 5½ day week, but women only work about half the days in the week. An important factor in time lost from work by the Desert People is liquor. Cotton farmers are almost unanimous in their condemnation of Indian drinking. The usual opinion is Papagos start drinking Friday night, and are unable to work Monday, wobbly Tuesday, at full steam Wednesday. Of course, this picture in farmers' minds has been painted by exceptional individual Papagos and doesn't represent accurately the situation for all Papagos. But it does reflect the great amount of time lost by many Papago individuals because of their drinking habits.

461 796 Another cause of lost working time for Papago harvesters is the religious celebration. Most important is the fiesta of St. Francis in October. Many farmers throw up their hands then, and gripe loudly about families that

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 71]

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[1] Only 3 women told the author how much they picked, and 1 worked a short day. They averaged 130 pounds per day.

[2] 8 Papagos in both counties who didn't lose time from drunkenness worked 37 days in the week preceeding their interview, an average of 4.6.

461 leave for two or three weeks or a month. However, the
usual pilgrim to Magdalena, or Chuwhiy Guwsk at this
796 time loses only one work-week, and those going to San
Xavier less. Secondary fiestas in point of time lost
from work are the fiesta of St. Francis in December at
San Xavier and All Souls at the beginning of November.

461 The graph of migration to the fields shows that some
families start picking as late as November. If they come
434 in the middle of the month and work until the first of
221 the year at average speed, the man and wife can earn about $280. More than likely they will go to San Xavier December 2, take time off at Christmas, and work only 5 weeks, earning perhaps $230 for their abbreviated season.

Families coming to work during October make more, of course. Those starting to pick in September approach the maximum possible for harvesters to earn. Assuming the worst possible about a family, that the husband loses 2 days each week from hangovers, making only $21 a week, and that the family leaves for Magdalena the first of October and goes home to the reservation until after All Souls, and then spends a week away from work at San Xavier's Saint's Day in December, having come to work the second week in September to begin with, husband and wife should each make about $200, a total of some $400 for the worst conceivable family.

A family which starts work about mid-September, loses the first week of October at fiesta, and spends a week at home sometime during picking season is apparently an average family. It would receive approximately $435 during the season.

461 The picture for American-Egyptian cotton is somewhat different from upland. The bolls are smaller and sharper,
433 and the lint harder to pick out. Papago men and women seem to pick this type cotton at about the same speed. Both sexes average around 100 pounds per day.[1]

434 At the rate in 1950 of $5.00 per hundred pounds, a
husband would make $27.50 for a 5½ day week. If his wife
461 picked 3½ days, the team would earn $45, and if she picked
every day, they would receive $55 for their week's work.
[221] The "average" family picking American-Egyptian cotton from

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[1] Admittedly this figure is based on a very small sample, only 2 men and 2 women.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

461 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash
to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for
794 earning money. During the picking season three im-
796 portant religious events occur. These are the feast
days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier,
and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial
calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to
one or another, or all three.

795 Although several denominations have gained a foot-
hold among the Desert People, the vast majority are
184 orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950
were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly
divided between Protestants and individuals conscious-
ly rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native
forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian
church has the largest following among Protestant
groups, with six congregations on the reservation.
[797] There are other missions on the reservations. However,
missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come
484 the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwak
788 at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys
primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint,
782 or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have
755 very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure
illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the
796 Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones
is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the
Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwak) church.
Often the person vows to make four such visits, to
place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him
an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the
border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health.
Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The
[796] Desert People bring statues and pictures from their
household shrines and chapels to press against the
[778] statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards
of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

484 mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of
788 jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home
511 and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat
435 and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics
to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around $125.

788 While Chuwhiy Guwsk was not so expensive, and San
435 Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 600
511 Papago families making pilgrimmages from labor camps
spent at least $50,000 on the one religious celebra-
[776) tion on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than
likely spent about $75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

461 Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubt-
511 edly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field
labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

166 Most Papago families picking cotton in 1950 made
484 at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over
484 four-fifths of them returned home at least once.[1]
574 Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or
poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.[2]

484 About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls
796 Day, the next important religious event after the
769 fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important
in number of Indian participants.[3] However, there are
(988) no centers for the observance of this day of memorial.
Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

484 The last of the trio of religious festivals falls
796 on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually
the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between
[796) Saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta
on Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

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[1] 23 families of 28 giving data returned, 82%.

[2] 23 families made 30 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Pinal county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.

[3] 14 of 20 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.

484 791 [788] Franciscan missionaries to the earlier date of their own St. Francis of Assisi). The fine old mission church at San Xavier del Bac is the goal of Papago pilgrims at that time. In 1950 about 15% of the Desert People picking cotton who left their jobs made the journey to San Xavier.[1]

541 One secular event in the fall competes with religious celebrations for the interest of the Desert People. This is their tribal rodeo staged at Sells. About 1 of 10 Papago cotton pickers attended one of the two-day 1950 performances.[2] Wage laborers were augmented by great numbers of stay-at-homes, who filled the 2,500-seat capacity stands both days with help of a few hundred Anglo visitors from Tucson and other southern Arizona towns.

166 524 484 844 [758] A few laborers return to the reserves for other reasons—some women go home to their mothers when they are due to parturate, although most seem to bear their babies in labor camps without medical aid. Sometimes a quick trip home is necessary to look after animals or other property. But generally when the Desert People go to labor camps, they go to work steadily through the season. They leave only for—to them—pressing reasons.

796 462 466 [782] [788] Most farmers hiring Indians realize that religious celebrations are very pressing reasons. Obligations the Desert People feel they must fulfill at these times rise above considerations of steady work. The vow to St. Francis comes before some farmer's cotton, or the Papago's own job, and he will go to one of those three churches regardless of other duties. Farmers who realize the importance to the Papagos of their religion are much happier men at fiesta time than those who regard a job as the most important thing in the world.

466 [461] [484] However, many farmers do not understand the religious beliefs of their Papago employees sufficiently to make allowances when Indians ignore prevalent Anglo work standards. And cotton growers resent the inconvenience involved in transporting Papagos. A Marana farmer remarked "One reason I never fool with Papagos is you have to take them to Sells 3 or 4 times a year." Another who hired Papagos griped that "Indians are more

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[1] 3 of 20 trips of known purpose were to San Xavier.
[2] 2 of 20 trips of known purpose were to the rodeo.